H. M. Stanley and the Literature of Exploration
Empire, Media, Modernity

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Awarding institution:
King's College London

Title: H. M. Stanley and the Literature of Exploration
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Thesis for the Degree of PhD
King's College, University of London 2011

DECLARATION

I declare that this work contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text.

BRIAN H. MURRAY
September 2011

ABSTRACT

This thesis constitutes the first sustained single-author study of the writings of the Welsh-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1840-1904). Stanley's works have generally been treated as generic examples of 'colonial discourse' or simply as a historical footnote to the canon of colonial adventure fiction. Little attention has been paid to the possible reasons for the phenomenal popularity and enduring appeal of these texts. I will expand upon previous readings of Stanley not by ignoring the imperial context but by acknowledging that 'imperial discourse' was itself in dialogue with various other social and cultural trends. My concern throughout is with the exploratory encounter as modernising event – not simply in the sense of the 'civilised' explorer shedding light on the 'dark continent' – but in the sense that the retransmission of these frontier narratives in the centre of empire had a transformative affect on how Britons conceived of themselves as modern subjects.

By emphasising the imperial 'margin' as a space in which modernity happens and the exploration narrative as the means by which this process is documented, represented and enacted, I challenge conventional notions of modernity as an urban phenomenon diffused from imperial metropolis to colonial periphery. Focusing on the (largely ignored) Welsh and American aspects of Stanley's identity, allows us to decentre the notion of a fixed imperial metropolis and forces us to acknowledge the complexity, ambivalence and richness of the literature of the exploratory contact zone By looking at the ways in which explorers interacted with and impacted upon contemporary developments in journalism, telecommunications, tourism, museum culture, popular entertainment and folklore studies, I offer a series of originally inflected readings that resituate Stanley's texts within a broader historical context without denying their centrality to the imperial moment.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to the Graduate School (King's College London) for funding my first three years of research and the to the British Association for Victorian Studies, the North American Victorian Studies Association, and the School of Humanities (King's College London) for various forms of financial support over the last four years. Over the course of my research, I have benefitted from the dedicated efforts of librarians and archivists at the British Library, the Bodleian (Oxford), Senate House, the Maughan Library (King's College) and the Royal Geographical Society. I am especially indebted to Mathilde Leduc Grimaldi of the Royal Museum of Central Africa, who made me feel extremely welcome at the Stanley Archive in Tervuren.

Innumerable friends, colleagues, and fellow travellers have encouraged me along the way and I would like to acknowledge the intellectual and social contributions of Christian McHugh, Kevin Fetherston, Richard Gill, Paul Dunne, Colm Fallon, Peter Moran, Jessica Fahey, Stephen Cadwell, and Robin Fuller in Dublin; Kirstin Hollingsworth, Emily Ochoa and Owen Boynton at Oxford; and Jamie Whitehead, Hope Wolf, Jane Darcy, Malcolm Cocks, Mary Henes, Elise Schraner, Matthew Ingleby, Maria Damkjaer, Sarah Crofton and Will Tattersdill in London. I am particularly obliged to Matt Kerr, for his enduring fellowship and sympathy, and to Alison Wood for her inexhaustible generosity and thoughtfulness.

Of the many colleagues and mentors who have commented upon, discussed and interrogated my work-in-progress, I am particularly grateful to Stefano Evangelista, John Sloan, Helen Small, James Secord, Simon Goldhill and Peter Mandler. I owe especial thanks to all the administrative and teaching staff at the King's College London English Department and especially those who have provided helpful comments and suggestions on my work, in particular Mark Turner, Richard Kirkland, Louise Lee, Ian Henderson, and Jo McDonagh. My supervisor Clare Pettitt has been has been a constant source of scholarly guidance and motivation; her enthusiasm, advice, and friendship have been a comfort and inspiration throughout my time at King's. I could not have completed this project without continual love and support of my parents Marian and Eamonn. My sister Cíara has provided both scholarly and personal encouragement. Lastly, I owe an immeasurable debt to Rosanna Da Costa, who has been living with and contributing to this project in innumerable ways since its inception.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Dorothy Stanley (ed.), *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).
AAE	The Anglo-American Expedition (1874-1877).
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford, 2004). Online edition: <www.oxforddnb.com>
EPRE	The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition (1887-1890).
ET	H. M. Stanley, *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1895).
HIFL	H. M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa including Four Months Residence with Dr. Livingstone* (1872; repr. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1895).
IDA	H. M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa: or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1890).
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). <www.oed.com>
RGS	Royal Geographical Society, London.
RMCA	Stanley Archive, Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium.
TDC	H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent or, the Sources of the Nile around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and Down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean* (1878; repr. London: George Newnes, 1899).

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INTRODUCTION

In January 1890 W. T. Stead, the former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and pioneer of the 'new journalism', launched a new international magazine. In the 'Programme' to this *Review of Reviews* Stead sketched some of his aims and principles, including his commitment to emphasising the role of individual personalities in shaping the historical and cultural moment. 'To know the character of the leading actor in the contemporary drama', he wrote, 'is essential to the right understanding of its history and its literature'.[1] Stead duly opened the first issue of his magazine with an 8-page sketch of the 'lead actor' of the day:

> He has the native fire of the Welshman, the phlegm of the Englishman, and the inexhaustible resource of the Yankee. He is emphatically a man of his time. The child of the press he has never forgotten 'that Archimedean lever which moves the world.' It is, as he says, the enterprise of the press which has popularised African discovery. It was as a Special he discovered Livingstone, and as a Special he discovered the possibility of opening up the Congo. When he left the press he used the press, and it was the attention which he drew to Central Africa through the press which set on foot that scramble for Africa which is the most conspicuous feature of our day. [2]

In this light, the career of the Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) is emblematic of the modern media world. But Stead also hails the explorer as a romantic hero from a bygone era: 'In all the annals of chivalric romance there is no more adventurous career than that of the Welsh workhouse boy who has just plucked the heart out of the mystery of the Dark Continent.'[3] In his dialectical role as knight errant and the ambassador of progress, as author of romance and 'penny-a-line' journalist, Stanley is both a figure of chivalric nostalgia – the 'Paladin of the Nineteenth Century', as one contemporary biographer described him – and an evangelist of modernity.[4] Stanley and his peers produced texts which glamorised the untamed wilderness of Africa while engaging directly in the mapping, state-building, and appropriation of indigenous lands which made European dominion over Africa possible. The geographical margin – so often characterised as a 'primeval' or 'prehistoric' zone – was also a space in which such modernity was continually enacted.

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[1] [W.T. Stead], 'Programme', *Review of Reviews*, 1(1890), 14.
[2] [W.T. Stead], 'Character Sketch: January,' *Review of Reviews*, 1 (1890), 20-27 (p. 27). Stead's reference to the press as 'the Archimedean lever that moves the world' is a journalistic commonplace in use since the 1830s.
[3] Ibid., p. 20.
[4] Allen Howard Godbey, *Stanley in Africa: The Paladin of the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 1889).

In this thesis I propose to interrogate the ways in which exploration literature interacts with narratives of modernity and progress in the late nineteenth century. Stanley's works have generally been treated as generic examples of 'colonial discourse' or simply as a historical footnote to the canon of colonial adventure fiction. Insufficient attention has been paid to the reasons for Stanley's phenomenal popularity and enduring appeal across class and gender divides, as well as national and racial boundaries. My reading expands upon previous interpretations of Stanley not by ignoring the imperial context but by acknowledging that 'imperial discourse' was itself in dialogue with a number of significant social and cultural trends.

As Clive Barnett has suggested, a fresh approach to exploration literature and colonial discourse can be achieved 'by alighting upon those points in hegemonic discourses when the presence of other ways of knowing are registered sufficiently to enable us to inflect these discourses in new directions'.[5] And as David Spurr has noted, journalistic texts like Stanley's are categorised by 'an absence of formal closure', an absence which emphasises 'the fractures and contradictions of colonialist epistemology'.[6] By focusing on such 'fractures and contradictions', I construct an alternative model of Euro-American modernity, which – rather than mapping the hegemonic diffusion of ideology from imperial metropolis to colonial periphery – will read the geographical margin itself as a modernising space. My concern throughout is with the exploratory encounter as modernising event: the 'civilised' explorer was portrayed shedding 'light' on the 'Dark Continent' but the retransmission of these frontier narratives in the centre(s) of empire also had a transformative effect on how nineteenth-century Britons conceived of themselves as modern subjects. In this sense, the exploration narrative functioned as the front-line reportage of modernity.

I use four interlinked strategies to reassess Stanley's role in the cultural construction of Africa and the theorisation of modernity in the period. First and most importantly, I want to emphasise the imperial frontier as a space in which modernity happens, and the exploration narrative as the means by which this process is documented, represented and –

[5] Clive Barnett, 'Impure and Worldly Geography: The Africanist Discourse of the Royal Geographical Society, 1831–73', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 23 (1998), 239–51 (p. 241).
[6] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 1.

through the perlocutionary force of imperial rhetoric – enacted.[7] Second, I critique the over-simplistic division between the categories of colonial discourse, anti-colonial resistance, and postcolonial criticism by looking at Stanley's writing as a cultural context for later relativist and modernist conceptions of the Other. Third, I suggest that by taking into account the Welsh and American aspects of Stanley's identity, we can decentre the notion of a fixed imperial metropolis. Whereas Stanley has usually been lumped in with 'British' imperialists – and often held up as the archetype of this species – he was in fact more socially and racially marginalised than many travellers and travel writers in the period. Finally, I want to re-establish Stanley as a popular author in his own right. Although Stanley features prominently in many cultural histories of empire and also in studies of imperial literature and travel writing, there has been a paucity of direct quotation and little textual analysis of his major works. With these four interventions in mind, I hope to resituate Stanley's writings within a variety of contemporary contexts, including journalism, the American frontier myth, 'manly' sentimentalism, telecommunications, tourism, museum culture, popular entertainment, historiography and the folklore revival.

Modernity at the Margins

When David Livingstone was exploring the Zambesi in 1854-56 the European map of Africa displayed a poverty of detail. European colonial possessions were indicated by a thin pink, green or blue line along a strip of coast along with some tentative cartographical incursions along navigable rivers like the Niger or the Blue Nile. As late as 1869, when Stanley made his first foray into Central Africa in search of Livingstone, Africa was still – to re-use the ubiquitous metaphor – full of 'blank spaces'. By 1890, when Stanley returned from his last major expedition, and effectively drew a line under the remaining 'geographical mysteries' of the Central Africa, the map of Africa had already been carved up by European powers. At the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 the principle of 'effective occupation' (which held colonial claims invalid unless backed up by legal ownership of land and a colonial police force) ensured the proliferation of colonial institutions, armies and infrastructure across what had previously been an ad-hoc 'informal empire', comprised of

[7] Spurr argues that the 'metaphorical notion of the writer as coloniser ought to be considered as more than a mere figure of speech, given the practical role which writing plays in the actual processes of colonial expansion and administration' (*Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 93). On the perlocutionary aspect of the performative speech act see J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. by J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 101-102.

vague 'spheres of influence' under the care of quasi-private firms like the British East Africa Company.[8]

As many scholars have noted, this military and administrative mission was supported by a no less vigorous cultural project to construct Africa as dark, benighted and barbarous, and thus justify Europrean intervention and annexation as an ethical and moral crusade against slavery, savagery, and paganism. Stanley was a key player in the physical colonisation of the continent but, as a popular author, he also did more than most to promote what Patrick Brantlinger has called 'the myth of the Dark Continent'.[9] He did not originate the idea that sub-Saharan Africa was a region perpetually devoid of physical, spiritual, and technological 'light'; however, he did his best to perpetuate this notion in a series of tenebrously-titled volumes, including *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), *In Darkest Africa* (1890) and *My Dark Companions* (1893). Stanley's books reached beyond the colonial fringe of coastal Africa and deep into 'primeval' forests of the interior, a region replete with 'cannibals', 'barbarians' or 'savages', a fetid primordial swamp representing everything that European civilisation had happily left behind. Even the Zanzabari porters and guides who made up the bulk of his expeditions, and in whom Stanley found much to admire, were 'a people just emerged into the Iron Epoch, and now thrust forcibly under the notice of nations who have left them behind by the improvements of over 4000 years' (*TDC* 1: 38).[10] As Stanley explains at the beginning of *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), the ability to describe Africa and Africans in an objective manner depends on one's own historical self-awareness:

> [To] be able to perceive [the African's] worth, the traveller must bring an unprejudiced judgment, a clear, fresh, and patient observation, and must forget that lofty standard of excellence upon which he and his race pride themselves, before he can fairly appreciate the capabilities of the Zanzibar negro. The traveller should not forget the origin of his own race, the condition of the Briton before St. Augustine visited his country, but should rather recall to mind the first state of the 'wild Caledonian,' and the original circumstances and surroundings of Primitive Man. (*TDC* 1: 38)

[8] G. N. Sanderson, 'The European Partition of Africa: Origins and Dynamics' in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. by G.N. Sanderson and Ronald Oliver, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), vol. VI, pp. 96-158 (p. 133).
[9] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 173-198.
[10] References to Stanley's major works will be cited parenthetically with abbreviated titles, volume and page number.

In order to understand Africans on their own terms, then, we must treat them as predecessors rather than contemporaries.[11] Johannes Fabian has termed this temporal exclusivity a 'denial of coevalness', a term he defines as the 'persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of the anthropological discourse'.[12] Stanley's 'Darkest Africa' also corresponds to what Anne McClintock calls an 'anachronistic space', an imaginary realm in which colonised peoples may be constructed as 'inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity'.[13] My task here is to disentangle the dialectical modernity of the exploration narrative without falling back on these sneakily pervasive fallacies. In order to do this coherently, my use of the problematic term 'modern' must be defined.

A diverse set of cultural, social and political phenomena have been hypothesised as the key factors or expressions of Victorian modernity. Depending on one's critical, philosophical and political affiliations, Victorian modernity is usually defined by one or several of the following: the political reforms and expansion of the franchise; the industrial revolution and the consequent rise of the bourgeoisie; the movement for gender equality; the decline of religion and the rise of science; the 'annihilation of space and time' engendered by railways, steamships and telegraphs; the collapse of existing metanarratives and the modernist embrace of plurality and relativism. More recently, as globalisation becomes the teleological endpoint for most sweeping accounts of the modern world, the British Empire has intruded upon these somewhat domestic accounts of modernity. Historians like John Darwin and James Belich argue for the centrality of the 'British world-system' and the 'Settler Revolution' to any explanation of nineteenth-century modernity, while neoliberals like Niall Ferguson read the modern hegemonic practices of superpowers like America and China as reflections of the administrative, financial, and military innovations of nineteenth-century British imperialists.[14]

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[11] See H. A. C. Cairns's discussion of Africans as 'contemporay ancestors' in British exploration narratives. *Prelude to Imperialism: British Reactions to Central African Society, 1840-1890* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 73-101.

[12] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other*: *How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 31. For a more specific discussion of the organisation and representation of time in the African exploration narrative see Fabian, 'Time, Narration and the Exploration of Central Africa' in *Anthropology with Attitude: Critical Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 140-157.

[13] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 40-42.

[14] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1780-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (London: Penguin, 2005); *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (London: Penguin, 2011).

All of the above factors have some bearing upon exploration and exploration literature, and I will touch upon each of these modern ruptures and revolutions over the course of my five chapters. However, I am not primarily concerned with locating modernity as an historical event. The problem with situating modernity with such geographical and historical precision – whether we opt for Mainz in 1452, Paris in 1789, London in 1851, or Flanders in 1914 – is that by pointing to one time and place as the dawn or the apex of modernity we inevitably denigrate/elevate other times and spaces to the pre- or postmodern. In order to obviate these temporal and geographical biases, I propose to consider 'modernity' as a performance and a way of seeing rather than a datable event or process. In order to perform modernity one must creatively position oneself in relation to a pre-modern Other. In this sense modernity is a relative and subjective feeling rather than an ontological trait.

One of the most important theorists of modernity, Marshall Berman, presents us with a relatively precise timeline for the developments he charts: from Goethe to Godard. However, he also offers a much less historically and geographically specific description of modernity as experience:

> To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of the universe in which, as Marx said, 'all that is solid melts into air'.[15]

Berman's definition is liberating to the point of downright vagueness; however, it does highlight what I believe to be one of the most important aspects of modernity as experienced and enacted in the exploration narrative. The modern subject's struggle for 'unity in disunity' has much in common with the visions of progress set forth by the utopian prophets of empire, such as the Liberal politician and travel writer Charles Dilke, who famously accommodated the United States, Canada, the Antipodes, India and Burma

[15] Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: the Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 15.

within his heterogeneous vision of 'Greater Britain'.[16] On one hand, explorers like Stanley were the agents of cultural and political imperialism, the pioneers of globalisation and the cheerleaders for a homogenised Eurocentric form of civilisation. On the other hand, the nature of their work implied an almost continual encounter with difference and contact with cultures which operated outside the expansive diarchic realm of 'commerce and Christianity'. This ambivalence ensures that the explorer continually experiences the modern 'maelstrom' at its most contradictory, and therefore at its most characteristically modern. Following Baudelaire and Benjamin, Berman emphasises the city as a venue for the modern. I will suggest, however, that Stanley's exploratory writings offer a glimpse of how modernity could be experienced, enacted, and represented at the imperial margin as strikingly as in the metropolis.

In *We Have Never Been Modern*, Bruno Latour describes modernity as an epistemological practice – or, as he terms it, an intellectual 'Constitution'. While the conditions of industrial capitalism are a prerequisite for Berman's modern event, Latour's modernity can be practised at any point in time or space:

> The adjective 'modern' designates a new regime, an acceleration, a rupture, a revolution in time. When the word 'modernization', or 'modernity' appears, we are defining, by contrast, an archaic and stable past. Furthermore, the word is always being thrown into the middle of a fight, in a quarrel where there are winners and losers, Ancients and Moderns. 'Modern' is thus doubly asymmetrical: it designates a break in the regular passage of time, and it designates a combat in which there are victors and vanquished.[17]

Latour's modernity is also about unity and disunity but it is distinctly less inclusive and utopian than Berman's. There is always a victorious, dynamic, modern 'us' opposed to the homogenised, vanquished, pre-modern 'them'. For Latour modernity consists of 'two sets of entirely different practices'. The first practice, which he calls 'translation', is the bridging and mediation between different categories and disciplines: a process which leads to a 'proliferation of hybrids' and the cross-pollination of nature and culture, science and politics. The second practice ('purification') works in the opposite direction and insists on the separation of nature and culture, and science and politics, into 'two entirely distinct ontological zones'.[18] In a similar way, the explorer's primary duty is to forge lasting

[16] Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English Speaking Countries* (London: Macmillan, 1868).
[17] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 10.
[18] Latour, p. 12.

networks between centre and margin – this is the work of representing, translating and explaining difference. But as Latour explains, the labours of 'mediation' make the work of 'purification' possible. The networks forged by the explorer facilitate the 'purifying' work of colonisation: the delineation of colonial borders and the segregation of the coloniser and colonised – the 'Manichean' binaries which postcolonial critics have described as central to the maintenance of the colonial state.[19] If I give slightly more emphasis to first of these activities, it is because the imposition of imaginary binaries on the heterogeneous and entangled reality of the imperial contact zone has been relentlessly documented since the rise of postcolonial and subaltern studies in the 1980s. I want to shift the emphasis from colonial 'purification' to pre-colonial 'mediation' not in order to absolve explorers from their sins of discursive and physical violence but rather to expose some of the complexities within imperial attitudes and the contradictions inherent to the naturalised racism of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, this approach will help us distinguish between European writing about autonomous pre-colonial Africa and the kinds of discourse generated by established colonial regimes.

My conviction that modernity is an idea constructed through a (sometimes one-sided) conversation between two or more cultures, rather than a blessing diffused from metropole to margin, owes much to Mary Louise Pratt's work on travel writing and 'transculturation' in imperial 'contact zones':

> While the imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery (in the emanating glow of the civilising mission or the cash flow of development, for example), it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis – beginning, perhaps, with the latter's obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. Travel writing, among other institutions, is heavily organized in the service of that imperative.[20]

For Pratt, writing is not merely a tool for dominating and disciplining an unknown Africa or Orient through the machinations of what Edward Said calls 'imaginative geography';[21] it can also be something far more subversive: a channel through which 'the periphery

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[19] This idea originates with Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952; repr. London: Pluto, 1986), pp. 9-16. Fanon's psychoanalytic focus on binaries is taken up – and to some extent deconstructed – by Homi Bhahba. See Bhabha's 'Remembering Fanon', a preface to the 1986 edition of *Black Skin, White Masks*, pp. vii-xxv.

[20] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992; repr. London: Routledge, 2008), p. 6.

[21] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; repr. London: Penguin, 2003), p. 54.

determines the metropolis'.[22] Homi Bhabha goes further, suggesting that 'modernity and postmodernity are themselves constituted from the marginal perspective of colonial difference', as the colonisers 'encounter themselves contingently at the point at which the internal difference of their own society is reiterated in terms of the difference of the other, the alterity of the postcolonial site'.[23] Although, Pratt and Bhabha are central theorists of the postcolonial project, there has, until recently, been a relative scarcity of empirical studies which take these concepts of marginal modernity seriously, an oversight which I intend to address in the following chapters.

In his study of scientific practice in colonial India, Gyan Prakash suggests that the colonies 'were underfunded and overextended laboratories of modernity', where 'science's authority as a sign of modernity was instituted with a minimum of expense and a maximum of ambition'.[24] In this sense exploration narratives were close to science fiction in their insistent pre-imagining of forms and strategies of modernisation and it is no accident that the earliest science fiction stories are fictionalised exploration narratives. 'Darkest Africa' had much the same import for Britons of the 1860s as the dark side of the Moon had in the 1960s. Unmapped and beyond the reach of telegraphs and railways, it was one of the remaining spaces in which people could plausibly disappear. Jules Verne dabbled in both imperial romance and science fiction – although these generic distinctions had not yet been formally established. His most successful scientific romances, such as *Journey to the Centre to the Earth* (1864), *From the Earth to the Moon* (1865), and *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* (1870), are fictionalised travel narratives. H. G. Wells's early novels, including *The Time Machine* (1895), *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896) and *The First Men on the Moon* (1901), all imitate the forms and conventions of exploration literature. Indeed, these genres often crossed paths. The hero of *Caesar's Column* (1890) by the Irish-American congressman Ignatius Donnelly, sets out from the pleasant agrarian utopia of Stanley, Uganda to visit New York City in the year 1988; In William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1891) a future Londoner delivers a lengthy monologue in which he traces the high watermark of decadent Victorian capitalism to the period in which 'Africa was infested by a man named Stanley'; the narrator of Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1912), the Irish newspaper correspondent Edward Malone, sets out on his quest in emulation of Stanley and Richard Burton and duly

[22] In a similar vein, the historian Catherine Hall has suggested that the margin and metropole are 'mutually constitutive'. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), p. 8.
[23] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 196.
[24] Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination in Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 13.

uncovers his own anachronistic space – a South America plateau inhabited by ape-men and dinosaurs.[25] Indeed, the recruitment interviews for the Anglo-American Expedition of 1874, as described by Stanley in *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), sounds remarkably like the casting call for a science-fiction drama. Stanley claims to have received over 1200 applications from 'mechanics, waiters, cooks, servants, somebodies and nobodies, spiritual mediums and magnetizers':

> They all knew Africa, were perfectly acclimatized, were quite sure they would please me, would do important services, save me from any number of troubles by their ingenuity and resources, take me up in balloons or by flying carriages, make us all invisible by their magic arts, or by the 'science of magnetism' would cause all the savages to fall asleep while we might pass anywhere without trouble. (*TDC* 1: 5)

As per Prakash's idea of the colony as 'laboratory for modernity', Stanley's Africa becomes a testing ground for a range of technologies, gadgets and prototypes. On his last two expeditions Stanley made use of specially-designed steel bottomed boats which could be disassembled and carried overland by porters (*TDC* 1: 4; *IDA* 1: 38). He also received sponsorship from the pharmaceutical magnate Henry Wellcome, who supplied the expeditions with specially tailored medicine chests. These same chests were later rebranded the 'Congo' and 'Livingstone' models and advertised with Stanley's endorsement.[26] Although historians and biographers have often looked for the causes of Stanley's bloody reputation in his irascible character and implacable temper, the fact is that earlier explorers were simply incapable of slaughtering natives with the speed and efficiency of Stanley's generation. Breech loading rifles only properly superseded clumsy mussel loaded pistols in the 1860s. Stanley took pains to offer a detailed inventory of his arsenal in each of his books and for his final major expedition in 1887, he was granted special use of a prototype of Hiram Maxim's new self-powered machine gun – the world's first fully automatic weapon, capable of firing over 300 rounds a minute (*IDA* 1: 38).[27]

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[25] Ignatius Donnelly, *Caesar's Column: A Tale of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: F. J. Shulte, 1890); William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1891), p. 132; Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World and Other Thrilling Tales*, ed. by Philip Gooden (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 12. Stanley read Donnelly's novel in 1891 and declared it a 'powerful story' (*A* 433).

[26] Chris Beckett, 'Attitudes to Political and Commercial Endorsement in the Business Papers of Silas Mainville Burroughs, with Particular Reference to Henry Morton Stanley', *Medical History*, 52 (2008), 107-128.

[27] Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 104. On the role of these technological developments in facilitating the 'new imperialism' see Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 5-6.

But as Felix Driver has argued, Stanley was not simply modern in his reliance on technology, military tactics and conspicuous displays of modern weaponry; he was also modern in the way he 'used his experience as a journalist to maximise the impact' of his journeys upon the wider public.[28] His first two expeditions were funded by opportunistic newspaper editors: James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* and Edwin Arnold of the *Daily Telegraph*. The *Herald* represented the vanguard of American sensationalism, while the deliberately modern-sounding *Telegraph* had the largest circulation of any newspaper in the world in the 1870s. These newspapers bankrolled Stanley's well-stocked expeditions in exchange for exclusive rights to his regular dispatches from the bush. This expensive trickle of words then found its way back from Central Africa via remote mail stations and newly laid telegraph lines and onto the front pages. Whereas earlier explorers like Livingstone and Burton were bound by the remits of missionary groups or learned societies, Stanley had no-one to satisfy but his readers.

From Pre-colonial to Postcolonial

The literature of travel and exploration has received significant attention from literary critics and cultural historians since the late 1980s. This interest was, to some extent, a symptom of the rise of postcolonial criticism in the decade or so after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) – although Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow's *The Africa that Never Was* (1970) had already provided a sweeping survey of the 'ethnocentric' construction of Africa and Africans in British travel accounts.[29] The success of the postcolonial critique naturally led to a renewed focus on the kind of literature which seemed most pregnant with colonial discourse and most complicit with cultural imperialism. This movement reached its apogee with the 1985 special issue of *Critical Inquiry* on '"Race", Writing and Difference.' Edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., the issue contained a series of epoch-making articles by a group of critics (Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Mary Louise Pratt, Patrick Brantlinger, Sander Gilman and Jacques Derrida) who would define the terms of the study of colonial literature and travel writing over the next two decades.[30] The continued existence of an apartheid state in South Africa and a burgeoning anti-apartheid protest movement made sure that any critical appraisal of white writing on Africa was always implicitly political. The 'Race, Writing and Difference'

[28] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 10.
[29] Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, *The Africa that Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa* (New York: Twayne, 1970).
[30] Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (ed.), '"Race", Writing and Difference', special issue, *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985).

volume was particularly committed to rewriting the mythologies of exploration: Pratt's article has continued to be one of the most cited in all studies of travel and exploration writing; Brantlinger's contribution dealt explicitly with Stanley's contributing role to the 'myth of the Dark Continent'; the cover featured a Victorian engraving of Livingstone reading the bible to two of his black 'followers'.[31] The message was clear: if the white male explorer had once been the prophet of imperial modernity, he was now the whipping boy of postcolonial criticism.

More recently we have seen repeated calls to 'complicate' or add 'nuance' to the postcolonial critique of Occidental representations of the Other. In the last ten years it has become almost obligatory to begin any monograph on European or American travel writing with a partial disavowal of Said's influential version of the hermeneutics of suspicion. These developments in part reflect a more general turn away from all-encompassing theories of power (such as Foucault's 'panopticism' or Althusser's 'Ideological State Apparatus') and a move towards models of agency which acknowledge the efficacy of small localised acts of resistance and empowerment (such as Michel De Certeau's concept of strategic 'poaching' or Bruno Latour's Actor-Network-Theory).[32] Of course, part of the reason we can afford to complicate and critique postcolonialism is because its major epistemological and historiographical interventions are now widely acknowledged and accepted

Throughout the course of these debates, the writings of European explorers have continued to be an important source for historians of African history in spite of their unenlightened depictions of the continent and racist characterisation of Africans. The use of these texts as 'evidence' can be divided into two distinct categories: first, they provide material for a socio-literary analysis of cultural imperialism; second, they are often the only written sources on important cultural and political events in pre-colonial Africa. The success of critics who have concentrated on the first category, arguing that any writing by white explorers will always be contaminated by the rhetoric of imperial discourse,[33] has left a rather sulky set of imperial historians with the unenviable task of defending the usefulness of testimony from individuals whom they were never particularly admiring of in

[31] Pratt, Mary Louise, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 119-43; Patrick Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 166-203.

[32] See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) and Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[33] See, for example, Christopher Miller's *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), which suggests that 'paper reality of Africanist objects must be sharply distinguished from the reality, paper or not, of Africa itself' (p. 5).

the first place. Addressing Tim Youngs's provocative assertion that 'what travellers describe in Africa is mainly Britain', Roy Bridges counters that it is 'possible to get behind the form of discourse to some sort of representation of objective realities about Africa and Africans' and that 'the depiction of the "Other" is whatever the distortions, in some way related to what they were actually like'.[34] Less convincing, however, is Bridges's rather arbitrary assertion that what he calls the 'raw record' ('what the explorer noted at or near the time of the encounter') will inevitably 'be freer of distortions of the kind which have led Said to talk of "Orientalism"'.[35] In the transition from Stanley's 'raw' exploration journals to his published books there is certainly evidence of various forms of mediation. However, this rarely corresponds to the kind of transition from objective account to subjective discourse which Bridges seems to infer. Although I have occasionally noted the power of interpersonal sympathies to undercut inherited prejudice in exploration texts, I remain largely sceptical of Bridges's claim that proximity to the Other and distance from the metropole somehow frees the explorer from the grip of ideology.

However, as Said himself has stated, 'the critic is responsible to a degree for articulating those voices dominated, displaced, or silenced' and in the African context, the works of European travel writers, are central to this critical endeavour – even though the same writers did much of the dominating, displacing and silencing in the first place.[36] Although my sympathies lie with the historical critics of Stanley and Anglo-American imperialism – rather than with the new batch of neoliberal revisionists and apologists – postcolonial critics also need to account for the fact that exploration narratives appealed, and still appeal, to a much broader range of reader then has been often acknowledged. My purpose here is not to salvage Stanley's account as an 'authentic' or 'accurate' record of an indigenous people but simply to suggest that, when pressed, even the most archetypal tracts of 'colonial discourse' or imperial propaganda can reveal the complexity and ambivalences which inevitably arise in the contact zone of nineteenth-century travel writing, where, as Dane Kennedy has shown, 'the practical matters of travel and trade and colonialism [. . .] brought Victorians face to face with the quotidian world of difference'.[37]

Part of the problem with using postcolonial models to critique the literature of exploration is that it encourages a teleological reading of autonomous and sovereign

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[34] Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 6; Roy Bridges, 'Explorers' Texts and the Problem of Reactions by Non-literate Peoples: Some Nineteenth-Century East African Examples', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 2 (1998), 65-84 (p. 69).
[35] Bridges, p. 70.
[36] Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 53.
[37] Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilised Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 205.

indigenous cultures as always existing in a *pre*-colonial state. To treat the inhabitants of powerful African kingdoms like Buganda as one and the same as the embattled 'colonial subject' not only elides the pre-existence of indigenous power structures (and indigenous imperialism) but also repeats the racist assumption of the Victorian imperialists that every benighted region unblessed by 'civilisation' is always already a colonisable space. Postcolonial critics have always emphasised the ways in which power and violence predetermine the categories of knowledge, speech and writing. But the power structures which determine the success of an exploratory expedition are very different to those which determine the networks and opportunities available to a colonist. When Stanley is navigating the upper reaches of the pre-colonial Congo, he is (to some extent) at the mercy of the indigenous inhabitants. He is almost always dependent on indigenous trade and charity in order to obtain food and shelter, and he is usually dependent on the assistance of local sovereign authorities in order to obtain vehicles, porters, guides, and permission to pass through disputed regions No explorer got very far without acknowledging indigenous power structures or, to borrow Barnett's phrase, acknowledging 'other ways of knowing'.[38] Furthermore Africans were not always 'native subjects' or 'travelees'; they were also explorers and colonisers. Many of the 'natives' employed by Stanley were not only experienced African travellers but also cosmopolitan figures who had travelled to Arabia, India, and even Britain. Almost all of these men and women were Muslims and had strong prejudices of their own against the customs, beliefs, and lifestyle of the 'heathens' and 'savages' of the Equatorial interior. Although the African, Indian and Arabian members of Stanley's expeditions may be marginalised in his text, they are not elided. When Stanley first arrived in Zanzibar to mount an expedition in 1870 he knew exactly who to recruit: the famous porters, guides and explorers that had been lauded in the works of Livingstone, Speke and Burton. In confronting the suppressed history of the African role in exploration we need to confront the fact that it was not Victorian explorers but modern readers who decided to ignore the indigenous hand in the exploration of Central Africa.

As Robert Young and others have shown, postcolonial studies has its own historical grounding that cannot be easily sealed off from the history of empire, exploration

[38] For accounts of explorers' dependence on indigenous populations see Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2006); Felix Driver and Lowri Jones, *Hidden Histories of Exploration* (London: University of London, 2009); Adrian Wisnicki, 'Rewriting Agency: Samuel Baker, Bunyoro-Kitara and the Egyptian Slave-Trade', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14 (2010), 1-27.

and exploitation.[39] Any contact or intercourse between a subject and its 'other' will be mediated and governed by the unequal power relations between the two. As good liberals, however, most of us also acknowledge that the only way to combat racism and bigotry is to recognise the plurality of human existence by attempting to reach beyond stereotypes and towards a genuine knowledge of other human individuals. It is no coincidence that the grandees of postcolonial studies are an internationalist, transnational and highly mobile group. But if border-crossing and global networks are all good for modern critics, they cannot have been all bad for Victorian explorers. If the neoliberal and neo-colonial regimes which financially support the practice of postcolonial criticism in the universities of New York, California, and London do not indelibly taint these forms of criticism, then the context of the late-Victorian British Empire should not ineluctably discredit the encounter with Otherness central to the writings of European explorers. As Elleke Boehmer argues, if we view the intercultural traffic in ideas and writings across national boundaries – and not necessarily from centre to margin – as one of the key characteristics of modern culture, then the epistemic ruptures of modernism point forwards to the relativism of postcolonialism but also backwards to the imperial encounters of the late nineteenth century:

> No longer specifically confined to Europe or America, the modernist-other interface or contact zone is spread across an inevitably interactive imperial and cross-border terrain, in which Mary Kingsley's appreciation of fetishes on her West African travels, or Bronislaw Malinowski's journals, for example, may be read as proto-modernist, or as reproducing a 'modernist' involvement with and citation of colonized and indigenous cultures.[40]

If travellers are really capable, as Boehmer suggests, of 'citing' indigenous cultures – rather than simply 'representing' or 'misrepresenting' them – then there is no reason why we should confine this phenomenon to either the modern or postmodern era. When we trace the beginnings of the postcolonial critique in figures like E. D. Morel, Roger Casement, Edward W. Blyden and Marcus Garvey, we inevitably overlap with the history of nineteenth-century exploration, colonialism and travel writing. To adopt Stanley as a proto-modernist is a bit of a stretch. But my claim here is not that Stanley somehow operates

[39] On the complex relationship between nineteenth-century liberalism, socialism, anti-colonialism and imperialism see Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 88-112.

[40] Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the National and the Postcolonial, 1890-1920: Resistance and Interaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 174.

outside of the imperial structure of feeling but rather that the kinds of modernity envisaged by imperialists are connected in complex ways to the kinds of modernity celebrated by modern liberals, multiculturalists and postcolonialists.[41] In his discussion of how Richard Burton managed to maintain a non-chauvinistic attitude to foreign cultures while espousing a virulent form of scientific racism, Dane Kennedy suggests that Burton's adherence to polygenism (a belief shared by the African travellers Mary Kingsley and Winwood Reade) actually enabled a form of cultural relativism: if the races were really different species then Missionary and colonial ambitions to 'civilise' Africans and transform them into something resembling the image of their Anglo-Saxon superiors were absurd.[42] In this way, certain forms of scientific racism could engender specific viewpoints which are closely analogous to later postcolonial and Afrocentric positions. Despite espousing the Eurocentric cultural assumptions of his time and place and insisting on the cultural, political and spiritual inferiority of African society, Stanley rejected polygenism and consistently expressed his belief in the essential unity of the human race and the potential for Africans to be incorporated within the bounds of 'civilisation' i.e. a society based on protestant Christian ethics and free-trade capitalism. In this way Stanley's universalist imperial convictions also have a place in the genealogy of anti-colonial and anti-racist thought. Unlike Burton, however, Stanley's primary contribution was not theoretical (cultural relativism) but empirical (ethnographic data). Though Stanley's purpose was to encourage imperial interest in the regions over which he travelled, his observations (as I will show in Chapter 3) would also prove useful in constructing the historical argument for the existence of an indigenous pre-colonial civilisation. Stanley endorsed a universalist liberal version of imperialism which occupies a place in the genealogy of both the postcolonial critique of empire and the neoliberal (and neo-colonial) project of globalisation. In the context of apartheid, the postcolonial critique of binaries and pseudoscientific racial stratification was an urgent project. With the triumph of neoliberalism and globalisation, the universalising and liberal aspects of colonial discourse now demand our attention.

Why Stanley?

So why is it useful to focus on Stanley in order to investigate these processes? And why am I focusing on a single figure rather than offering a broader survey of exploratory literature

[41] Some modern authors who are critical of Stanley in spirit but use his testimony as evidence of pre-colonial African civilisation include Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 35 and Godfrey Mwakikagile, *Africa and the West* (New York: Nova Science, 2000), p. 27.
[42] Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilised Man*, pp. 160-163.

in the period? Broad surveys are best suited to the identification of rhetorical tropes across a range of texts; somewhat counter intuitively, however, they tend to create a more homogenous picture than studies which focus on the shifting and evolving views of an individual author. Felix Driver addresses this problem by focusing on, among other things, the controversies and debates surrounding specific exploratory expeditions. 'The study of such moments of controversy,' Driver claims, 'can throw light on the troubled history of colonialism, by highlighting tensions which often seem to be flattened out, decontexualised, in narrowly textual analysis of "colonial discourse"'.[43] By focusing on an individual author – without losing sight of the broader genre and culture – I want to highlight the inconsistencies and contradictions within these texts. Similar studies have sought to 'complicate' the postcolonial reliance on binaries, such as coloniser/colonised and self/other, by concentrating on individuals who complicate our understanding of imperial power and its literary manifestations by virtue of their gender or social class. However, Stanley never indulges in the subversive anti-colonial rhetoric of Roger Casement or Olive Schreiner, or even the mischievous iconoclasm of Mary Kingsley, Richard Burton or Winwood Reade. But then I am less concerned with making a case for Stanley as exceptional and more interested in proving that even the most archetypal proponents of 'colonial discourse' are subject to complex plays of ideology, desire, and sympathy that are as likely to undermine as underscore the myths of empire. Through selective quotation, it is relatively easy to make Stanley look like a shameless self-promoter and Kurtzian monomaniac chomping at the bit to 'exterminate all the brutes'.[44] On the other hand, Stanley's recent apologists have used an equally blinkered approach to cast the explorer as a philanthropic, media-shy and essentially misunderstood figure, whose outbursts of verbal and physical violence are very much 'of the time'.[45] The reason Stanley's reputation is so malleable in this regard is that he presents himself interchangeably as both bloody-minded authoritarian and the sympathetic and sentimental traveller. It is the play between these contrary – though not necessarily conflicting – modes of authorial expression which I seek to emphasise in order to resituate Stanley's texts as records of late nineteenth-century modernity.

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[43] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 150.

[44] Two popular polemical histories which cast Stanley in a particularly unflattering light are Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Pan Macmillan, 1999) and Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate all the Brutes* (New York: New Press, 1996).

[45] See especially the recent biography by Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London: Faber, 2008).

Scholars of European travel literature have, for some time, been engaged in reading nineteenth-century travel texts as the product of their particular time and place. Critics and historians have argued persuasively for the all-pervasiveness of imperial ideology and the ubiquity of images of empire in the nineteenth century, but other aspects of Victorian culture have been overlooked in attempts to define the position of the author as imperial agent. Approaching Stanley as a successful journalist and author, as well as an explorer and 'colony builder', allows us to read the exploration narrative from a different angle, without ignoring or eliding the imperial context. The intrusion of this mendacious working-class journalist of dubious origins into the heart of the assuredly upper-class world of African exploration needs to be read in relation to various decentring and destabilising events of the late nineteenth century. Stanley's writing career began in 1867 against the backdrop of expansion of the American frontier and the reconstruction of the American South in the aftermath of the Civil War. But this was also a period of tumultuous political and social upheaval in Britain, with the Second Reform Bill (1867) enfranchising all male householders and the Elementary Education Act (1870) encouraging social mobility and bringing men of Stanley's class into the political sphere for the first time. Patrick Brantlinger has suggested that African exploration appealed to working class men like Stanley because their 'subordinate status at home was reversed in Africa [. . .] Stanley the pauper could be Stanley the great pioneer and field marshal, blazing the trail of civilization'.[46] However, the catapulting of the working-class male into the ostensible position of the field-marshal does not guarantee that he will immediately see the world, and represent it, in the same way as the aristocratic army officer. Brantlinger's ideological reading of exploration texts and adventure novels explicitly draws on the Foucauldian assumption that the ideological content of literature is determined by the cultural conditions of its production. It seems strange then that Brantlinger should assume that a working-class author will reproduce the very same imaginary 'Dark Continent' as an aristocrat, even though, as he explicitly states in the same essay, 'racism often functions as a displaced or surrogate class-system' and 'imperialist discourse [. . .] treats class and race terminology as covertly interchangeable or at least analogous'.[47] While gentlemen like Burton and Winwood Reade could afford to flaunt their free-thinking attitudes and

[46] Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans', p. 181. For an exploration of contemporary anxieties with regard to race and class in the art and literature of the period see Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: A Study of English Attitudes toward the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978).

[47] Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans', p. 181-82.

Bohemianism, Stanley was undoubtedly – to use a postcolonial term – a subaltern figure in several respects.

Born to an impoverished single mother in Denbigh, North Wales and initially raised by his grandfather before being sent to a local workhouse at the age of six, Stanley was a native Welsh speaker and probably only acquired English as a second language.[48] The Welsh language was actively discouraged in schools during the nineteenth century and did not receive equal status as an official language until the Welsh Language Act of 1967.[49] In September 1866 *The Times* had described the native language as 'the curse of Wales' and vehemently condemned attempts to promote Welsh language and literature through Eisteddfod celebrations as a 'foolish interference with the natural progress of civilization and prosperity'.[50] In his *Study of Celtic Literature*, published a year later the school inspector and Oxford Professor of Poetry Matthew Arnold advocated the study of Welsh literature from an antiquarian and 'scientific' perspective but roundly condemned all attempts to promote the language as a modern vernacular. In terms which deliberately echo the universalising rhetoric of the civilising mission, Arnold sketched the future of the Welsh language:

> The fusion of all the inhabitants of these islands into one homogeneous, English-speaking whole, the breaking down of barriers between us, the swallowing up of separate provincial nationalities, is a consummation to which the natural course of things irresistibly tends; it is a necessity of what is called modern civilisation, and modern civilisation is a real, legitimate force; the change must come, and its accomplishment is a mere affair of time. The sooner the Welsh language disappears as an instrument of the practical, political, social life of Wales, the better; the better for England, the better for Wales itself.[51]

Using a remarkably modern-sounding vocabulary of imperial power and knowledge, Arnold suggests that the only value of the Celtic race lies in its ability to 'get itself

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[48] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 13-17; Jeal, *Stanley*, pp. 19-21.

[49] Wynford Bellin, 'Welsh and English in Wales' in *Language in the British Isles*, ed. by Peter Trudgill (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1984), pp. 449-79 (p. 453). For more readings of colonial/postcolonial Wales see Jane Aaron and Chris Williams (eds.), *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005); Kirsti Bohata, *Postcolonialism Revisited: Writing Wales in English* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004); and Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire, c. 1851-1939', in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity*, ed. by Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (London: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 57-81.

[50] Qtd. in *Matthew Arnold: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Carl Dawson and John Pfordresher (London: Routledge, 1995), vol. I, pp. 161-162.

[51] Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1867), p. 12.

thoroughly known as an object of science'.[52] As John Kerrigan has recently noted in his work on the early modern period, many readings of British imperialism overlook the 'uneven, inherited relationships between the parts and peoples of Britain and Ireland'.[53] Most readings of colonial texts have focused on a discourse flowing between centre and margin, metropolis and colony but, as Tim Youngs has noted, postcolonial theory's notion of a 'homogenous, fixed centre' can be misleading and often serves to efface 'important differences within the colonising country'.[54] Stanley's hybrid Welsh-American, Celtic-Saxon identity means that his position on the continuum between centre and margin is largely a question of perspective.

According to Claude Levi-Strauss, the anthropologist should strive towards a *technique du dépaysement*. The term carries the sense of both 'homelessness' and 'disorientation', what Levi-Strauss's translators Jacobson and Schoepf summarise as 'the conscious cultivation [. . .] of an attitude of marginality toward all cultures, including his own'.[55] Such displaced, diasporic, or hybrid identities have often been hailed as effective standpoints from which to critique imperial formations. Paul Gilroy suggests that such 'intermediate concepts [. . .] are exemplary precisely because they break the dogmatic focus on discrete national dynamics which has characterised so much modern Euro-American cultural thought'.[56] However, such positions of 'intercultural positionality' were equally strategic vantages from which to promote liberal mythologies of empire, which moved beyond the blunt binaries of racial exclusivity. Boehmer argues that 'the cultural and political *exchanges* between the conventional colonial centre and periphery, as well as between subjects of the different peripheries, impinged in different ways on the culture of the centre, to form a complicated and interconnected web'.[57] If we acknowledge the ability of subaltern groups to form strategic alliances that run laterally across the hierarchical structure of empire though, we must also acknowledge the heterogeneity of a metropole, which (depending on the particular historical moment) could include Britain, Ireland,

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[52] Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, pp. 15-16. On Arnold race and colonialism see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 55-89; Daniel G. Williams also notices 'a tension between an intolerance of cultural difference and a genuine democratic desire to extend the benefits of an English education, and the values of an English culture' in Arnold's official reports on Welsh schools. *Ethnicity and Cultural Authority: from Arnold to Du Bois* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 33-72.

[53] John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3.

[54] Youngs, *Travellers*, pp. 6, 81.

[55] Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (London: Penguin, 1968), p. 117.

[56] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 6.

[57] Boehmer, *Empire, the National, and the Postcolonial*, pp. 171-72.

Canada, Australia, South Africa and even British India, the inhabitants of which all played a role in the exploration and colonisation of Central Africa.[58]

Geographical Forms: Literature and Exploration

In his 1988 study of British literature and imperialism *Rule of Darkness*, Patrick Brantlinger draws an explicit comparison between exploration narratives and fictional imperial romances:

> The great explorers' writings are nonfictional quest romances in which the hero-authors struggle through enchanted, bedevilled lands towards an ostensible goal: the discovery of the Nile's sources, the conversion of the cannibals [. . .] The humble but heroic authors move from adventure to adventure against a dark, infernal backdrop where there are no other characters of equal stature, only bewitched or demonic savages.[59]

More recently several critics have rejected this over-simplistic analogy and have begun to place more emphasis on the non-narrative aspects of exploration literature. Nigel Leask has argued that travel writing in the early nineteenth century was characterized by the struggle to incorporate an increasingly systematic accumulation of facts and observations into narratives which tended to 'privilege authorial "egotism" and entertaining reflections'.[60] In other words, the travel writer's major concern is to strike a balance between entertainment and information.

In 1873, on the back of the success of *How I Found Livingstone*, Stanley came to write his first and only novel, *My Kalulu: Prince, King and Slave.* The hero of this 'romance for boys' is based on the real Kalulu, a young slave boy, originally called Ndugu M'Hali (My Brother's Wealth), presented to Stanley by an Arab merchant at Unyanymbe in 1871 (*HIFL* 230-31). Stanley employed him as a personal servant during his search for Livingstone and Kalulu accompanied Stanley on his lecture tours through Britain and America before being

[58] Roy Bridges points out that a disproportionate amount of RGS members were Anglo-Indian administrators and military officers. 'Europeans and East Africans in the Age of Exploration', *Geographical Journal*, 139 (1973), 220-32 (p. 227).
[59] Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p. 180-81.
[60] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 7-9.

sent to boarding school in Wandsworth.[61] On one level *How I Found Livingstone* broadly conforms to Brantlinger's model of the quest romance: one man's heroic expedition to find the lost missionary in remote central Africa; civilising, fighting and killing as he goes. However, as Stanley himself points out in the preface to *My Kalulu*, his travelogue was actually much more than an adventure story:

> A great many people complained that the book was bulky; that, in fact, there was too much of it. So are newspapers too large, and contain a great deal more reading matter than any one man cares to read. In a book of travels some readers prefer adventures, the incidents of the chase; others prefer what relates to the ethnography of a country; others, geography; others dip into it for matters concerning philology. The person who reads the whole book through is one interested in the subject, or is attracted by the style.

Though *My Kalulu*, would give 'a pretty fair idea of the customs of the peoples around Lake Tanganyika' it was primarily aimed at 'those boys, and young, middle-aged, and old men, who found my first book rather heavy'.[62] Stanley's experiment with romance was not a success. However, his 'heavier' works of non-fiction would continue to sell in increasing numbers. These generically unstable texts continually alternate between travel narrative, ideological tract, and ethnographic, zoological and geographical description. Stanley presented eclectic texts that managed to appeal to both the professional, 'dipping' in for nuggets of ethnological or geographical data, and the desultory popular reader whom he openly invited to skip the topographical chaff and cut straight to the chase. As Stanley explains, with their capacious variety and abundant digressions his travel books take as their model not the romance but the newspaper.

Although we may reject Brantlinger's description of exploration books as 'nonfictional quest romances' as too simple, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge the fertile interaction between adventure fiction and the exploration narrative.[63] H. Rider Haggard's most successful adventure novel *She* (1887) is narrated by a Cambridge don given to lengthy topographical and ethnographic digressions. The narrative is punctuated by footnotes, illustrations and other intrusions as part of a reality effect which mimics the

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[61] Jeal, *Stanley*, p. 134; Edward Marston, *After Work: Fragments from the Workshop of an Old Publisher* (London: Heinemann, 1904), p. 212.
[62] H. M. Stanley, *My Kalulu, Prince, King and Slave: A Story of Central Africa* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1873), vi-vii.
[63] Some important studies of adventure fiction in the African context include Wendy R. Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Mawuena K. Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York: Garland, 1999); Laura Chrisman, *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

digressive, fragmented nature of the travel book.[64] *She* first appeared in the *Graphic* and the serialisation of the story (October 1886 – January 1887) corresponds exactly to the preparation of Stanley's Emin Pasha Relief Expedition (EPRE). A besieged colonial governor of Equatoria in the southern Sudan, Emin's first letter appealing for help appeared in *The Times* on 29 October 1886. The final instalment of *She* appeared on 8 January and a week later the *Graphic*'s 'Topics of the Week' included the announcement that Stanley had undertaken 'a more difficult mission' than even his search for Livingstone: 'Emin Pasha can only be approached through countries where the slightest accident may wreck the expedition. There is further danger that the tyrant of Uganda may massacre all the Christians in his dominions if the rescue party present a warlike aspect'.[65] For the editors of the *Graphic*, the EPRE served as a timely sequel to Haggard's novel. On 29 January the *Graphic* issued a four-page illustrated supplement with seventeen engravings and a colour map of the possible routes Stanley might take to Emin's station on Lake Albert.[66] The expedition was heavily covered by the *Graphic* right up to Stanley's return in 1890, when the magazine published a lavishly illustrated 'Stanley Number' priced at 1s (twice the usual price of the magazine).[67] According to Stanley, the *Graphic* was partially responsible for the initiation of the expedition. The explorer would later confess that his decision to lead the expedition was partially inspired by the laudatory descriptions of Emin in 'the *Graphic* numbers of January, 1887' (*IDA* 1: 376). Geographical expeditions inspired and were also inspired by contemporary imperial romances. If Stanley's popularity lay in his ability to imitate the exploits of the heroes of romance, Rider Haggard's popularity lay in his ability to imitate the style – and occupy the same textual spaces – as non-fiction exploration narratives. The adventure novel and the exploration narrative were distinct but interrelated products of an emergent late-Victorian popular culture.

We can get some idea of the scale of Stanley's popular appeal by looking at the various channels through which the EPRE was reported and represented in contemporary literature and media. Stanley's official two-volume account of the expedition *In Darkest Africa* sold 150,000 copies in 1890 alone and was translated into 10 European languages, and later Arabic.[68] In the months after its publication, eight of Stanley's travelling companions would publish their own accounts. Francis Burnand, the editor of *Punch*, found

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[64] H. Rider Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure*, ed. by Daniel Karlin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[65] *Graphic*, 15 Jan. 1887, p. 50.
[66] Robert W. Felkin, 'The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition', *Graphic*, 29 Jan. 1887, pp. 113-116.
[67] *Graphic*, 30 Apr. 1890.
[68] *A* 422; Edward Marston, *How Stanley Wrote 'In Darkest Africa': A Trip to Egypt and Back* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., 1890), p. 71.

enough comic mileage in the expedition and its reception to publish a book-length parody.[69] The fact that Stanley's book retailed expensively at 42s (2 guineas) might lead us to categorise his narrative as an elite cultural phenomenon. From the very beginning, however, there were cheaper alternatives.[70] Subscription libraries ran ads assuring readers that they were well stocked with the book and Stanley's British publishers (Sampson Low, Marston and Co.) simultaneously published a card-bound collection of Stanley's letters for a shilling, expressly produced in order to satisfy a demand among 'men of the working class'.[71] On both sides of the Atlantic readers kept up to date with the expedition through letters, updates and rumours initially published in the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, and thereafter redistributed in the national, local and colonial press. In addition to the *Graphic* number, the *Illustrated London News* also published a special issue on 'Stanley in Africa' detailing Stanley's exploits with the aid of sumptuous colour illustrations and foldout maps.[72] Meanwhile, the *Boys Own Paper*, a publication with a weekly distribution in excess of 500,000, published illustrated abridgments of Stanley's exploits for younger readers.[73]

To assume that Stanley's narratives only existed as texts, however, is to downplay the complex media ecology in which late-nineteenth-century explorers operated and delimit the diverse audience for these polymorphous narratives, which were always disseminated through an array of forms and media. It was not only the stories which explorers brought back, but the images they captured on the latest portable cameras, often to be imaginatively reworked by artists and engravers, that made them the darlings of the illustrated weeklies. *In Darkest Africa* included 150 illustrations and three maps. As Adam Hochschild has noted, 'Stanley's books were multimedia productions' and as Leila Koivunen has demonstrated, the rise of the explorer as popular hero was contemporary with a 'general visualization of Western culture', as advances in printing technology enabled 'the mass production of illustrated newspapers, books and pamphlets'.[74] Stanley's image also featured in several advertisements, where the explorer was shown endorsing a wide range of products,

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[69] F. C. Burnand, *A New Light Thrown across the Keep-it-Quite Darkest Africa* (London: Trischler, 1891).
[70] *Publisher's Circular*, 15 April 1890, p. 462.
[71] J. Scott Keltie (ed.), *The Story of Emin's Rescue as Told in Stanley's Letters* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co, 1890), p. 3.
[72] *Illustrated London News*, 3 Mar. 1890.
[73] P. J. Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations : Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 649; Clare Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), p. 183.
[74] Hochschild, p. 51; Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 3.

including boats, tents, tea, electric light bulbs and Bovril.[75] Such was the ubiquity of Stanley's image in the summer of 1890, that the *Pall Mall Gazette* dubbed the phenomenon 'exploration mania'. Stanley was not simply the author of an incredibly successful books, he was the author of a cultural phenomenon, which transcended traditional confines of genre and media. Narratives of exploration and the geographical discovery were not confined to literary or scientific texts; they were widely diffused through popular print culture, the stage, popular music and the visual arts. When we consider the manifold representations of Stanley's narrative, it becomes difficult to imagine any British person who had not, on some level, consumed a version of Stanley's story.[76]

Literature Review

To provide a comprehensive survey of the vast array of existing criticism on imperial literature and travel writing would be impossible within this space.[77] However, I would like briefly to mention some significant works that either deal with Stanley in detail or have a significant bearing on my own argument. Although the analysis of Stanley's work as literature begins with Brantlinger's *Rule of Darkness* (1992), Tim Youngs provides a far more sensitive analysis in *Travellers in Africa* (1994). In this wide-ranging study, which analyses texts by John Hanning Speke, James Augustus Grant, Richard Burton, and Verney Lovett Cameron among others, Youngs manages to avoid the homogenising tendency of most surveys of imperial discourse by playing up the nice distinctions of class and background that were often intensified by the conditions of African expeditions and aggravated by the publication and reception of travelogues. Youngs's insistence on the heterogeneity of the

[75] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 137-43; Youngs, *Travellers*, pp. 76, 175.

[76] There has been much recent debate over the cultural pervasiveness of empire in British metropolitan life and whether or not popular literature, drama, and visual spectacles are reliable indicators of imperial enthusiasm among the general population. In *Rule of Darkness: British literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), Patrick Brantlinger suggests that imperial discourse relentlessly informed 'all aspects of Victorian culture and society' (p. 23). The contributors to John Mackenzie's collection *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) and Catherine Hall in *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: Chicago university Press, 2002) have also argued for the pervasive influence of empire on popular culture and society in Victorian Britain. More recently, however, Bernard Porter has forcefully opposed this view and suggested that the imperial aspect of British culture has been systematically exaggerated by historians and literary scholars. Porter concedes, however, that empire became more visible in the domestic sphere from 1880 onwards. Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 148.

[77] For a comprehensive survey of the historiography of exploration see Dane Kennedy, 'British Exploration in the Nineteenth Century: A Historiographical Survey', *History Compass*, 5/6 (2007), 1879-1900. Robert Burroughs also offers a useful survey of critical work on Africanist travel writing in 'In Conrad's Footsteps: Critical Approaches to Africanist Travel Writing', *Literature Compass*, 3/4 (2006), 924-39.

imperial 'centre', along with his foregrounding of 'technological progress and class tensions' as important contexts, have been hugely influential on my own project.[78]

In *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940* (1998), Daniel Bivona compares and contrasts the exploration narratives of Livingstone and Stanley in order to chart a transition from a period in which exploration was 'a limited commercial and missionary penetration, justified largely in moral terms during the age of "humanitarianism" (the 'Age of Livingstone'), to a more aggressive exploration in search of economic opportunities, which he labels the 'Age of Stanley'.[79] According to Bivona, this divergence also led to the production of different forms of exploration narrative. Livingstone's humble self portrait as a romantic and sympathetic rambler, gave way to the image of Stanley, an heroic and determined conquistador whose narratives served as both adventure stories and manuals of 'sound, practical advice' to 'would-be imitators'.[80] Importantly Bivona also suggests that 'these differences in literary form give rise to significant differences on the level of representation of the African continent itself'.[81] Bivona's conviction that Stanley's texts continually project 'Africa's need for modernization', chimes with my own reading of the exploration narrative as a modern and modernising text. However, I would also like to emphasise the way in which these myths reflect back upon the metropolitan self-image and are not merely justifications of free-trade capitalism and imperial expansion. Although Bivona's sketch of the generic transformation of the exploration narrative is broadly accurate, he underplays the extent to which the earlier 'humanitarian' justifications for imperialism continued to operate in conjunction with the more transparently commercial concerns of the New Imperialism. He also fails to acknowledge the extent to which romantic (and Romantic) models of the literary traveller continued to be a pervasive influence on Stanley's generation.

In *Geography Militant* (2001), Felix Driver charts the development of geography as a discipline and exploration 'as a set of cultural practices which involve the mobilization of people and resources, especially, equipment, publicity and authority'. In an attempt to obviate the homogenising tendencies of postcolonial discourse models, Driver emphasises exploration narratives as 'articulations of practices' rather than 'projections of colonial discourse'.[82] In this respect, the 'culture of exploration', Driver argues, 'was riven with

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[78] Youngs, *Travellers*, p. 6.
[79] Daniel Bivona, *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940: Writing and the Administration of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 43.
[80] Ibid., p. 45.
[81] Ibid., p. 48.
[82] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 8.

differences over the style, methods and function of the explorer'.[83] Recent studies on the visual culture and book history of exploration have vindicated Driver's hypothesis by showing that the production of media narratives of exploration was a collaborative project involving significant input from editors, artists, engravers and readers.[84] Although he is personally 'concerned less with exploration narratives themselves than with the ways in which they were produced and consumed', Driver is committed to situating the 'travels and narratives of individual explorers in a wider context' and he convincingly demonstrates that Victorian 'attitudes toward exploration and empire were far more diverse than has often been recognized.'[85] Although I agree with Driver's argument, I want to take it one step further and suggest that these diverse 'attitudes' and heated debates are in many ways anticipated and prefigured by struggles and ambiguities within exploration texts themselves.

In *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence* (2003), Laura Franey offers the most in-depth and informed literary analyses of Stanley's travel narratives in recent years. Her reading of the often graphic depiction of 'white on black' violence in British travel writing is provocative and insightful, and she convincingly charts the 'ongoing attempt [. . .] to invest the African body with meaning [by] those who wished to exercise some sort of disciplinary authority over it'.[86] However, I disagree with her assumption that this process requires travellers to 'simultaneously erase their own bodies' from the text.[87] The writings of Stanley and his contemporaries vividly describe exploration as an embodied experience and much of the affective power of these texts resides in the powerful description of white bodies scourged by starvation, disease and weather. Methodologically, she also seems to reject the nuanced approach of Driver and Youngs when she describes her determination to 'look beyond the differing experiences of individual travellers' in order to delineate 'large scale shifts in travel writing'. Her rejection of the 'careful distinction between fiction and nonfiction' is also somewhat alarming when viewed alongside the formal sensitivity of a

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[83] Ibid., p. 10.
[84] For example, Speke's original text of *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (London: Blackwoods, 1863), which was pronounced 'abominable, childish, [and] unintelligible' by the publisher John Blackwood, was entirely re-written by the historian and lawyer John Hill Burton. David Finkelstein, 'Africa Rewritten: The Case of John Hanning Speke' in *House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2002), pp. 49-69. In *Visualizing Africa,* Leila Koivunen demonstrates that the illustrations in Stanley's books included relatively faithful renderings of photographs, extensively reworked engravings based on original sketches, purely imaginary illustrations based loosely on Stanley's text, and even images pilfered from earlier books of travel.
[85] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 8; idem, 'Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration, and Empire', *Past and Present*, 133 (1999), 134-66 (p. 136).
[86] Laura E. Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), p. 8.
[87] Ibid., p. 6.

critic like Bivona.[88] More problematic, however, is her attempt to trace a 'single national body of [British] travel writing' through the works of Paul Du Chaillu (a French-American), May French-Sheldon (an American), Olive Schreiner (a South African), Joseph Conrad (a Pole) and H. M. Stanley (a Welsh-American) – an aggressive act of annexation worthy of Cecil Rhodes.[89] Although Franey is correct to note that Stanley frequently depicts his relationship with Africans in terms of feudal lord to master, her insistence that the primary concern of every 'British' traveller is to construct him/herself as an '*ancien régime* sovereign' says more about Franey's Foucauldian proclivities than it does about nineteenth-century travel literature.[90]

A number of biographical studies have also proved invaluable to my project.[91] Until recently Frank McLynn's *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (1991) was the standard account.[92] As his title implies, McLynn takes a sceptical approach to Stanley's own mythmaking and provides a lucid, detailed, and balanced account of Stanley's travels, his rise to celebrity and his dealings with King Leopold II of Belgium and the Congo Free State. His frequent excursions into amateur psychoanalysis are occasionally distracting (he is particularly keen on interpreting 'short-legged' Stanley's behaviour in light of feelings of physical inadequacy); however, McLynn's effort would no doubt have proved authoritative were it not for his failure to gain access to Stanley's personal papers held by the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium. Recently, however, this important resource has opened its doors to researchers, encouraging a flurry of new publications.

The two most recent scholarly biographies of Stanley take remarkably different approaches to their subject. In *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley's African Journeys* (2006), James L. Newman, a respected geographer and Africanist, reassesses Stanley's major expeditions by emphasising his effects upon, and engagement with, pre-colonial African cultures.[93] This interesting approach offers a different way into Stanley's texts and

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[88] Ibid., p. 2.
[89] Ibid., p. 4.
[90] Franey, p. 14. The model here is Michel Foucault's exposition of the monarch's legal and physical power over the subject's body in *Discipline and Punish*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 49.
[91] Earlier biographical accounts include Frank Hird, *H. M. Stanley: The Authorized Life* (London: S. Paul, 1945); Byron Farwell, *The Man Who Presumed: A Biography of Henry M. Stanley* (New York: Holt, 1957); Richard Hall, *Stanley: An Adventurer Explored* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1974); Ian Anstruther, *I Presume: H. M. Stanley's Triumph and Disaster* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988); John Bierman, *Dark Safari: The Life Behind the Legend of Henry Morton Stanley* (New York: Knopf, 1990).
[92] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004). Originally published in two-volumes as *Stanley: The Making of an African explorer* (London: Scarborough House, 1989) and *Stanley: Sorcerer's Apprentice* (London: Constable, 1991).
[93] James L. Newman, *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley's African Journeys* (Washington DC: Potomac, 2006).

makes up in historical nuance for what it lacks in character insight. Tim Jeal's hugely popular *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (2007) is the most scholarly and comprehensive treatment of the explorer to date, and has achieved widespread critical acclaim. An expert researcher, Jeal gives a comprehensive account of Stanley's career, fills in blanks left by other biographers, and manages to explode a number of well-established myths along the way (most notably Stanley's concocted story of his adoption by a wealthy American businessman – the original Henry Stanley). Jeal's impressive scholarly achievement is, however, undermined by his almost pathological defence of Stanley's every word and deed. The biographer's explicitly-stated ambition is to salvage the explorer's reputation from 'the post-colonial guilt of successive generations'.[94] In order to achieve this goal, Jeal is forced to be extremely selective in his quotation from Stanley's casually racist texts. He also frequently discredits Stanley's own damning accounts of events such as the Bumbireh massacre as 'exaggerations', contrived to please a blood-thirsty Anglo-American readership. Of course some of Stanley's misdeeds are too well-attested to be ignored but this does not dissuade Jeal. The explorer's collaboration with Arab slave traders is justified by the claim that slave owners 'treated their personal slaves better than British factory owners treated their "free" workers', the kind of specious argument that should have died out with abolition.[95] It takes a particularly inhuman level of objectivity to accept Jeal's astonishing conclusion that the loss of 'a mere thousand lives' during the EPRE was an acceptable sacrifice in the name of Geography, a sacrifice that 'looks modest when placed in a wider African context'.[96] Though he complains throughout of the over-simplistic demonisation of Stanley by postcolonial historians, it is his own revisionist polemical stance that detracts from what might otherwise have been an authoritative biography.

Overview

H. M. Stanley and the Literature of Exploration: Empire, Media, Modernity is neither a literary biography nor a complete survey of Stanley's oeuvre. My primary aim throughout is to use Stanley's exploration narratives as a way into various discourses of the modern in the late nineteenth century, and to argue that the explorer occupies a powerful position as a mediator between ideas of past and present, tradition and progress, primitive and modern. To this end I have based my individual chapters around detailed readings of specific texts.

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[94] Jeal, *Stanley*, p. 475.
[95] Ibid., p. 191.
[96] Ibid., p. 382. Jeal's, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and the Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011) does a similar restoration job on John Hanning Speke's reputation.

My focus on Stanley's *Missouri Democrat* letters (later re-published in *My Early Adventures in America and Asia* [1895]), *How I Found Livingstone* (1872), *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) and *In Darkest Africa* (1890), means that I have only been able to make fleeting references to his other works, including *My Kalulu* (1873), *Coomassie and Magdala* (1874), *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State* (1885), and *Through South Africa* (1898). In an effort not to repeat previous scholarship, I have also avoided certain aspects of Stanley's career which have already received substantial attention: most significantly, his work for King Leopold II in the foundation of the Congo Free State, the controversies surrounding the conduct of the EPRE, and his brief political career in the 1890s.[97] The structure of the dissertation is roughly chronological, although each chapter takes a new approach to the texts in question and looks at Stanley's writing from a different perspective.

Chapter One deals with Stanley's journalistic writings for regional American newspapers during the 'Indian Wars' of the 1860s. The yardsticks by which Stanley measures civilisation and modernity, and his belief in the inevitability of colonial expansion and the supremacy of the white race, have their root in his experience of this clash between white and indigenous American cultures. In America he begins to envisage a future in which the civilised 'Anglo-Saxon' races will guide the savage races towards a capitalist, technological and Christian culture. I also argue that the American notion of the frontier as generative space was instrumental to Stanley's later work. In these early journalistic works Stanley envisages the frontier as a place in which modernity needs to be continually enacted. Thus his letters back to the *Missouri Democrat* can be read as examples of the way in which ideas of 'modernity' are conceived at the margin and transmitted back to the metropolis.

Chapter Two re-examines the famous meeting between Stanley and Livingstone at Ujiji in 1872. Although Stanley's famous greeting ('Dr. Livingstone, I presume?') has become a byword for the Anglo-Saxon 'stiff-upper lip', in *How I Found Livingstone*, Stanley dramatically describes his struggle to suppress his turbulent emotions. Stanley's affecting narrative was a timely attempt to reignite Anglo-American sympathies against the backdrop of the diplomatic fallout following Britain's surreptitious support of the Confederacy during the Civil War and recent 'outrages' committed by American-based Fenians in Britain

[97] On the Congo Free State see Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* and Robert M. Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities: Eyewitness Accounts of Colonialism in the Congo, Angola, and the Putumayo* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-97. On the EPRE see Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 117-45;Youngs, *Travellers*, pp. 113-150 and Franey, pp. 47-66. On Stanley's election as Liberal Unionist MP for South Lambeth see Alex Windscheffel, '"In Darkest Lambeth"': Henry Morton Stanley and the Imperial Politics of London Unionism' in *London Politics 1760-1914*, ed. by Matthew Cragoe and Antony Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 191-210.

and Ireland. I argue that Stanley was forced to elide his own Celtic identity in order to portray his friendship with Livingstone as emblematic of transnational 'Anglo-Saxon' fellowship. The Stanley and Livingstone myth has endured in part as the reification of a utopian fantasy of transatlantic sympathy and sociability, but it also partly owes its success to Stanley's ability to craft his narrative into a triumphal parable of Anglo-Saxon imperial destiny.

Chapter Three looks at the importance of communications technology and specifically the electric telegraph to Stanley's vision of an Anglo-Saxon future in *Through the Dark Continent*. Stanley frequently evaluates tribes on their ability to make themselves intelligible to outsiders. This anthropological criterion stems from his belief that social and cultural progress is impossible without modern technologies of communication. However, by reading contemporary accounts of the telegraph alongside Stanley's account of the African 'talking drum' (popularly dubbed the 'savage telegraph'), I suggest that Stanley acknowledges alternatives to Euro-American modernity. Contemporary reactions to Stanley's travelogue reveal that even such an obviously imperialist text as *Through the Dark Continent* offers a platform from which racist and Eurocentic assumptions may be challenged or subverted.

Chapter Four focuses on relationship between exploration, tourism and popular entertainment. At times, Stanley's writings read more like guidebooks for the middle-class tourist than testaments of perilous adventures. I read Stanley's exploratory accounts in the context of the emergence of global tourism and argue that Stanley himself plays an important role in promoting the 'dark continent' as a tourist destination. Stanley's ideas permeated British society through a range of media, including special issues of periodicals, music-hall parodies and museum events such as 'The Stanley and African Exhibition' (1890). Stanley's own methods of collecting and strategies of display – in the illustrated pages of his books – anticipate this material re-presentation of his work to a modern urban observer, and these exhibitions and spectacles, in turn, offer a simulated experience of African travel analogous to Stanley's original narratives. In this way Stanley's exploration narratives become important points of confluence and nodes of exchange between various developing media forms.

Chapter Five focuses on the dissemination and reception of Stanley's account of the pygmy tribes of the Ituri forest in the aftermath of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. Although many critics have suggested that British explorers systematically denied the existence of any meaningful pre-colonial history, Stanley's description of the pygmies

demonstrates how scientifically-informed racism could be reconciled with the acknowledged existence of a civilised, historical Africa. Stanley's account led to an epidemic of metaphoric appropriation of the pygmies, a phenomenon which was further provoked by the public exhibition of real African pygmies in Britain throughout the 1890s. I examine how these manifold and often contradictory metaphorical appropriations of the pygmy stem from the ambivalence of Stanley's own account and conclude by suggesting that the imagined history of a once great Pygmy Empire became an ideal discursive stage on which to play out contemporary anxieties about Britain's own imperial future.

Stanley's works were admired by figures as culturally and politically diverse as Mark Twain, Sigmund Freud, Anton Chekhov and W. E. B. Du Bois.[98] Stanley himself, however, attracted more personal criticism and derision that any other explorer, though even his most determined opponents granted his status as an innovator. Francis Galton, an exemplary 'scientific traveller' and latterly an outspoken 'armchair geographer', deplored Stanley's sensationalism but nonetheless admitted that the determined journalist's 'geographical raid' across the continent constituted 'a new system' of exploration.[99] The Irish playwright and critic George Bernard Shaw, denounced Stanley as a 'wild-beast man, with his elephant rifle, and his atmosphere of dread and murder, breaking his way by mad selfish assassination out of the difficulties created by his own cowardice'. But Shaw also conceded that 'Stanley worship' was a seemingly irresistible symptom of a violently nationalist modern era.[100]

Joseph Conrad travelled up the Congo in 1890 while 'Stanley worship' was at its zenith and would famously rework his experiences into his 1899 novella *Heart of Darkness*. In 1926 Conrad would denounce Stanley's brand of 'Geography Militant' as a tawdry, violent and meretricious distortion of earlier and more laudable forms of manly adventure and genuine geographical discovery.[101] Recalling his journey to the upper reaches of the Congo and the realisation of his boyhood 'daydream' to penetrate the blank spaces of the map, Conrad had found 'no great haunting memory, but only the unholy recollection of a prosaic newspaper "stunt" and the distasteful knowledge of the vilest scramble for loot that

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[98] Paul Fatout (ed.), *Mark Twain Speaking* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1976), pp. 214-15; Walter Boehlich (ed.), *The Letters of Sigmund Freud to Eduard Silberstein, 1871-1881*, trans. by Arnold J. Pomerans (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1990), p. 168; Donald Rayfield, *Understanding Chekhov: A Critical Study of Chekhov's Prose and Drama* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1999), p. 95; W. E. B. Dubois, *The Negro* (1915; repr. New York: Dover, 2001), p. 71.

[99] [Francis Galton], 'Stanley's Discoveries and the Future of Africa', *Edinburgh Review*, 147 (1878), 166-91 (p. 166).

[100] G. B. Shaw to Ellen Terry, 8 August 1899. Christopher St. John (ed.), *Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence* (London: Reinhardt and Evans, 1949), p. 311.

[101] Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 3-5.

ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration'.[102] Stanley's journeys were modern in so far as they constituted, in Latour's terms, 'a new regime, an acceleration, a rupture'. But more troublingly they also involved, as Latour anticipates, 'a combat in which there [were] victors and vanquished.[103]

Note

In cases where there is significant difference between the geographical or ethnic terms used by Victorian explorers and the modern African equivalent, I have used the nineteenth-century European designation with the modern version in parenthesis.

[102] Joseph Conrad, 'Geography and Some Explorers' in *Last Essays*, *The Collected Works of Joseph Conrad* (London: Routledge, 1995), vol. XXII, 1-21 (p. 17).
[103] Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, p. 10.

1

THE FRONTIER INDEX

THE *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* AT THE INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION

> If one were wholly civilised, and 'cultured' to the backbone (if one may mention that feature), the savage tale would have failed to excite [. . .]. The savage within us calls for more news about the fight with the apache, or piute, who killed the soldier-man.
>
> **Andrew Lang (1887)**[1]

1. 1 Civilisation and the Frontier

In his 1870 essay 'Civilisation', Ralph Waldo Emerson argues that the eponymous term is always defined by opposition; our idea of the civilised can only exist in relation to what we identify as the negations and privations of barbarism.

> A certain degree of progress from the rudest state in which man is found [. . .] is called Civilization. It is a vague, complex name, of many degrees. Nobody has attempted a definition. Mr. Guizot, writing a book on the subject, does not. It implies the evolution of a highly organized man, brought to supreme delicacy of sentiment, as in practical power, religion, liberty, sense of honor and taste. In the hesitation to define what it is, we usually suggest it by negations. A nation that has no clothing, no iron, no alphabet, no marriage, no arts of peace, no abstract thought, we call barbarous.[2]

[1] Andrew Lang, 'Realism and Romance', *Contemporary Review*, 52 (1887), 683-693 (p. 689-90).
[2] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Society and Solitude* (1870; repr. London: Routledge, 1883), p. 15. Emerson is referring to François Guizot (1787-1874), author of *The History of Civilisation in Europe* (1828), which was translated into English by William Hazlitt (son of the Romantic critic) in 1857.

As Emerson explains, there is no consensus over what a civilised society should actually look like. 'The term imports a mysterious progress' but the concrete endpoint to which all this 'progress' is directed remains obscure. In such circumstances, Emerson was sceptical about the prospects of a civilising mission, observing that 'in mankind to-day the savage tribes are gradually extinguished rather than civilised. The Indians of this country have not learned the white man's work; and in Africa, the negro of today is the negro of Herodotus'.[3] In spite of his scepticism, Emerson nonetheless emphasises the role of intercultural contact in bringing about the developments that we have come collectively to regard as progressive. Historically, the great societal leaps forward have been the result of external stimuli: 'some superior foreigner importing new and wonderful arts, and teaching them'. Civilisation is something which springs from encounters with other cultures and other spaces: 'The most advanced nations are always those who navigate the most. The power which the sea requires in a sailor makes a man of him very fast, and the change of shores and population clears his head of much nonsense of his wigwam'.[4] Emerson here performs a neat defamiliarising manoeuvre, beginning with what we assume to be a reference to a modern colonial power ('those who navigate the most') but ending with the image of a mariner lighting out from his wigwam. The implication is that without their passion for navigation and intercultural contact, modern Euro-Americans would still be savages. On one level, we can read this as an apologia for imperialism as a progressive impulse. But rather than emphasising the diffusion of civilisation from metropole to margin, Emerson stresses the ways in which a modern civilisation enriches its culture through encounters with others. For Emerson, the frontiers of any civilisation are its primary modernising space. At the frontier, the necessity of shelter provokes a quick transition from wilderness survival to frontier existence and soon to something recognisable as civilisation. With the erection of a log-hut all else follows: 'Invention and art are born, manners and social beauty and delight'. It is wonderful, Emerson declares, to observe 'how soon a piano gets into a log hut on the frontier. You would think they found it under a pine stump.'[5]

The idea of the frontier as a conceptual borderland and generative space finds a later incarnation in the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner's influential essay *The Frontier in American History*. Turner's lecture, delivered at the American Historical

[3] Emerson, *Society*, pp. 16.
[4] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[5] Ibid., p. 17. Emerson owes something here to his fellow transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau who built a log-cabin and lived an ascetic life on land-owned by Emerson near Concord, Massachusetts. Thoreau later recounted his experiment in *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854).

Association on 12 July 1893, was written in response to the declaration by the superintendent of the 1890 census that the American frontier had ceased to exist. According to Turner, the key to understanding American history lay in the 'existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward'. The institutions of the state, and the American national character, had their origins in that continuous westward expansion and 'the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life.'[6] In America the 'social evolution' of modern civilisation was continually recurring as new areas were in turn occupied by explorers, traders, farmers, miners, and finally industrialists and businessmen. As Mary Louise Pratt has shown in the South American context, European travel writers needed to 'reinvent America as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of rationalized exploitation' by Europeans.[7] But Turner's vision is actually more nuanced than this; it involves a dialogue between the 'primitive' and the 'modern'.

> Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, *its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society*, furnish the forces dominating American character [. . .] In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilization.[8] [my italics]

Turner's frontier is both a 'contact zone' and a transformative space.[9] As Patricia Limerick has pointed out, Turner's frontier is 'a process, not a place; a concept, not an actual geographical location'.[10] So although he is unambiguously in favour of white expansion, Turner does not characterise the frontier experience as a straightforward battle between

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[6] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1893; repr. New York: Henry Holt, 1921), pp. 1-2.
[7] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 152-53.
[8] Turner, pp. 2-3.
[9] Mary Louise Pratt defines the contact zones as 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination'. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 7.
[10] Patricia Nelson Limerick, 'Making the Most of Words: Verbal Activity and Western America' in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. by William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: Norton, 1992), pp. 167-84 (p. 167). See also Limerick's *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987).

wilderness and civilisation. In fact the frontier produces an American identity which is characterised by hybridity and ambivalence. To be successful in the frontier environment the colonist must first give way to the wilderness and acknowledge its mastery. The settler must, to some extent 'go native':

> The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing [*sic*] with a sharp stick, he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion.[11]

Next follows a process of gradual re-civilisation in which the colonist and the land are reshaped to resemble something similar – though never identical – to European civilisation. 'Little by little' the colonist transforms the wilderness into something which is 'not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs' but 'a new product that is American'.[12]

The historian Richard Slotkin has characterised this 'Myth of the Frontier [as] the American version of the larger myth-ideological system generated by the social conflicts that attended the "modernization" of the Western nations'.[13] According to Slotkin, Turner's America 'has a distinctive bifurcated geography. It is divided into two realms: the "Metropolis," the civilisational centre; and the "Wilderness," into which the heroic energies of the Metropolis are projected'. The frontier is 'the ever advancing line that is the interface between these two realms'.[14] In Slotkin's reading of Turner, the frontier has a gradually improving effect upon the metropolis, and without the material support of the periphery, the centre will lose its modernising power.[15] Taking this further, James Belich describes the American frontier in terms of 'settlerism', 'a powerful, even revolutionary, ideology', which transformed 'the concept of emigration and [gave] the Anglo-world the human capital to rise'. According to Belich, this globalised version of the frontier mentality impacted upon

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[11] Turner, *Frontier*, p. 4.
[12] Ibid., p. 4.
[13] Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York: Athenaeum, 1985), p. 33.
[14] Slotkin, p. 41.
[15] Ibid., p. 47.

all settler colonies and 'to some extent ricocheted back into the oldlands as well'.[16] The 'Settler Revolution', as Belich sees it, consists of a double movement: in the first phase – 'explosive colonization' – the frontier zones experience 'supercharged growth' in a series of short boom and bust cycles fuelled by mass migration from the mother country; in the second – 're-colonization' – the settler economy is reintegrated with metropolis, 'giving London and New York the extra hinterlands they [need] to grow into mega-cities'.[17] In this way, Turner, Slotkin, and Belich all offer economic and ideological justifications for Mary Louise Pratt's suggestion that 'the periphery determines the metropolis'.[18]

The American frontier was at its most dynamic in the mid-nineteenth century. The population of the western states exploded from approximately 1 million in 1815 to around 15 million people by 1860.[19] During the Civil War (1861-1865), travel to the west had been heavily restricted, but in the immediate aftermath of the war westward expansion continued unabated. Between 1865 and 1873 the US took in three million immigrants and doubled the length of its railroads, with 70,000 miles of additional track.[20] The building of the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad (1862-69) prompted large-scale migration and contributed to increased hostility between settlers and the indigenous nations of the Great Plains.[21] By the end of the decade the new states of Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado had been incorporated into the Union, the Alaskan territory had been purchased from the Russians, and the nomadic hunting nations (the Sioux, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche) had been legally consigned to ever-shrinking reservations in the most inhospitable regions of the country.[22] These frontier regions offered a peculiarly American blend of intercultural contact and conflict through which, as Turner suggests, the settler was brought into 'continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society'.[23] It is in the midst of this expansionist project that we find the twenty-six year old Henry Stanley on his first major journalistic assignment.

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[16] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1780-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 163.
[17] Ibid., p. 9
[18] Pratt, *Imperial* Eyes, p. 6.
[19] Belich, p. 223.
[20] Belich., p. 332. Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland since 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 170.
[21] Robert Angevine, *The Railroad and the State: War, Politics, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 130-192
[22] The Secretary of State William Seward brokered the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. Removal of indigenous populations to the Western Indian Territories began with the Indian Removal Act of 1830. These semi-autonomous territories were eventually assimilated into the new State of Oklahoma in 1907. Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier, 1846-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), pp. 4-6.
[23] Turner, *Frontier*, pp. 2-3.

1.2 Stanley at the Frontier

In 1886, Mark Twain would praise Stanley's 'indestructible Americanism' and pronounce the explorer a 'product of institutions which exist in no other country on earth – institutions that bring out all that is best and heroic in a man'.[24] Although Stanley, who had lived in America since he was eighteen, would deliberately obscure the 'Americanism' of his writing in later years and make much of his 'Anglo-Saxon' credentials, there is much in his oeuvre that betokens a characteristically American frontier mentality. His exploration narratives have for the most part been treated as colonial texts; however, explorers, by definition, are always operating in a pre-colonial space. In this sense, it is more useful to treat Stanley's exploration narratives as literature of the 'frontier' rather than the 'colony'. It was in the American West that Stanley first came to observe the contact zone between two hostile cultures – or, as he conceived it, the frontier between civilisation and barbarism – and it was here that he first began to construct an idea of civilisation through an Emersonian process of contrast and negation.

When Stanley drifted into journalism in 1867 he became part of one the biggest revolutions in the global history of print culture. Increasing literacy rates, improvements in printing technology and an increasing flood of migrants throughout the late nineteenth century ensured the proliferation of newspapers even on the frontier. In 1820 there were about 500 newspapers in the United States; by 1860 there were approximately 4,000 titles nationwide.[25] Stanley's first forays into journalism came during his final stint of military service for the Union Navy in the later stages of the Civil War. In December 1864, as ship's clerk aboard USS *Minnesota*, he wrote reports on two Federal attacks on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, which found their way into local newspapers (*A* 220-1). Shortly afterwards, Stanley found work writing occasional pieces as an *attaché* of the *Missouri Democrat*. Arriving in America after an abortive 'expedition' to Asia Minor in January 1867, Stanley received his first permanent journalistic appointment as 'special correspondent' of the *Democrat* and was instructed 'to "write-up" North Western Missouri, and Kansas, and Nebraska'.[26] As a correspondent Stanley was entitled to a fixed wage ($15 a week, plus expenses) which would have distinguished him from the regular staff of 'reporters' who were paid by the

[24] Paul Fatout (ed.), *Mark Twain Speaking* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1976), p. 215.
[25] Belich, p. 226.
[26] Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London: Faber, 2008), p. 52.

line.[27] As John Nerone explains, while the reporter's copy 'inclined towards voicelessness' and objectivity, the correspondent was encouraged to develop a distinctive tone and offer 'personal insight and colourful observation'.[28] In a four-page paper like the *Democrat*, space was at a premium – so the length of Stanley's despatches (often running to two columns) and the editor's apparent tolerance for the correspondent's meandering reflections and picturesque digressions indicate that Stanley's copy was held in high esteem. He was even afforded a by-line (his despatches were signed 'STANLEY'), an honour he would not achieve again until after his return from the expedition to find Livingstone in 1872. Shortly after joining the *Democrat*, Stanley received two important assignments: in March 1867 he joined General Winfield Scott Hancock on his campaign against the Kiowa and Comanche, and then (from July to November 1867) he accompanied the Indian Peace Commission to the Kiowa, Sioux and Cheyenne, led by General William Tecumseh Sherman and the Missouri senator John B. Henderson (*A* 225, 227; *ET* v). The despatches from these two assignments form the bulk of Stanley's work for the *Democrat* and are collected in the first volume of *My Early Travels and Adventures*, published in book form in 1895.[29]

When Stanley joined the *Missouri Democrat* in 1867, the paper was an important organ for political polemics, influential editorials, and international news aimed at a cosmopolitan readership in a rapidly expanding city. Set on the southern bank of the Missouri River – the dividing line between the former Confederacy and the Federal North – St. Louis was socially and economically more akin to the industrial cities of the North-East than the former slave-dealing and cotton-trading capitals of the South. By the 1860s the city had a large and expanding population of German and Irish immigrants and prospecting New England capitalists. With over 300,000 residents, it was the fourth largest city in the US and a point of contact between the industrial North, the agricultural South and the plains to the west.[30] It was an important stop on the busy steamboat route along the Missouri River, and was a hub for the wave of emigrants heading west along the as-yet-incomplete transcontinental railway.[31] In the mid-nineteenth century, hyperbolic accounts of the city's explosive growth and unstoppable modernisation were common, as commentators dubbed St. Louis the 'New York of the interior' and the 'London of the

[27] John Nerone, 'Newswork, Technology and Cultural Form', in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. by Barbie Zelizer (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 136-56 (p. 141).
[28] Ibid., p. 141.
[29] Jim Allee Hart, *A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Columbia MO: University of Missouri Press, 1961), p. 98.
[30] Belich, p. 238-40.
[31] Jeffrey S. Adler, *Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 61.

New World'.[32] Missouri was the only slave-owning state not to secede from the Union and it remained under federal occupation for almost the entire duration of the war. By the time Stanley joined the staff of the *Democrat*, it was solidly 'radical Republican' in ethos: having backed Abraham Lincoln ever since his senatorial bid of 1858 and supported the abolitionists in their struggle with 'conservative' Republicans wishing to appease the slave-owning South.[33] During the war years, St. Louis saw little or no violence, and the *Democrat*'s circulation actually increased. Lincoln is purported to have said that the pro-Union *Democrat* 'was worth more to the North than ten regiments of soldiers'.[34] Stanley's editor was the Massachusetts-born and Yale-educated William M. Grosvenor, who had commanded the Louisiana Native Guards, an African-American Federal battalion during the war.[35] So although the *Democrat* may have looked provincial when compared with Stanley's later employers – the *New York Herald* and the London *Daily Telegraph* – it catered for a politically-informed and cosmopolitan urban readership. Although Stanley's stories of frontier towns, gunfighters, and Indians had more immediacy for the residents of a Midwestern city like St. Louis than a North-Eastern city like New York, Stanley's tales of the 'Indian Wars' would still have been consumed as exotic tales of adventure rather than urgent news likely to impact upon the political or economic life of St. Louis.

On the prairies of Kansas Stanley saw a culture in transition and the foundation myths of American civilisation continually re-enacted. Near the end of his career, he would look back on his American writings in his preface to *My Early Travels and Adventures* (1895). It was, as he saw it, an exciting record of a society in transition: 'Scarcely twenty-eight years have elapsed since these letters were hastily written amid the bustle of military life, and yet what a change has come over the face of the land! I find that many of the predictions then ventured upon have been more than realised' (*ET* 1: vi). In characteristic style, Stanley provides the evidence for 'progress' in the region – a list of infrastructural developments and statistics testifying to exponential increase of white settlers. He then moves directly to the fate of America's indigenous population over the previous three decades. Although he does not explicitly cite their near annihilation as 'evidence' of progress of the West, he is nonetheless convinced that the demise of the Indian in the face of the railway, the telegraph, and white settlers is 'inevitable':

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[32] Adler, p. 56.
[33] Confusingly, by the 1860s the *Democrat* backed the Republicans, while the *St. Louis Republican* supported the Democrats. Hart, pp. 69, 35.
[34] Hart., p. 1. See also Lucy Tasher, *The Missouri Democrat and the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1936).
[35] Hart, pp. 88-89.

> It is useless to blame the white race for moving across the continent in a constantly increasing tide. If we proceed in that manner, we shall presently find ourselves blaming Columbus for discovering America and the Pilgrim Fathers for landing on Plymouth Rock. The whites have done no more than follow the law of their nature and being. Moreover, they had as much right to the plains as the Indians, and it would not be a difficult task to prove that they had a better right. (*ET* 1: vii-viii)

The inadaptability of the native to the conditions of modernity is unforgivable: 'Savage and implacable humanity of the Indian type need expect no other fate than extinction' (*ET* 1: ix). Although white intervention, white violence, and white disease had played a major role in this extinction, Stanley is in no doubt that 'the principal causes of [the Indians] disappearance have sprung from their own innate savagery' (*ET* 1: ix-x).

But in order to paint the myth of progress effectively, Stanley first had to prepare the canvas of barbarism. His first despatch from the plains offered this picturesque vision of the pre-settlement West:

> For centuries the painted Indian has lorded over [the land], and careered over the pathless plains after the American bison in the wild exuberance of freedom. Celebrated chiefs renowned for valour, after their own fashion, have departed one after another to the 'happy hunting grounds.' Generations after generations have been swept away, mingling their dust with the common mother, and leaving to their successors their ancient traditions and usages, as well as their darkness and barbarism. The Indians of the present day hunt the buffalo and the antelope over this lone and level land as freely as their ancestors, except where the white men has erected a fort. (*ET* 1: 20)

This is a pastoral space in which any human activity seems to be part of *nature* rather than the distinct operation of a developed *culture*. The image of the fort in the final sentence initially reads not as an outpost of progress but as a barrier to the flow of natural forces, 'ancient traditions', and long-established 'freedoms'. But as Roy Harvey Pearce has shown, even when Indians were romanticised, they were almost always presented as 'stubborn obstacles to progress'. The presence of the Indian forced Americans 'to consider and reconsider what it was to be civilized and what it took to build a civilization'.[36] Accordingly, Stanley's pastoral nostalgia is quickly eclipsed by his enthusiasm for 'progress'. In 1865,

[36] Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xvii

William Sherman had declared the Union Pacific Railway to be 'the most important element now in progress to facilitate the military interests of our Frontier', and Stanley follows Sherman by emphasising the locomotive as the 'the true harbinger of civilisation' (*ET* 1: 88).[37] Writing from Denver in August 1867, Stanley longs for the day when the coasts will be joined by rail:

> Time is flying, the iron horse is upon the plain, impatient to rush through the heart of the mountain towards the Pacific. Two years hence the dwellers upon the Atlantic slopes will unite hands with their brothers of the Pacific shores, and then – and then will the desert rejoice, and the wilderness be made glad. (*ET* 1: 190)[38]

In this hymn to technology – which concludes with the words of the prophet Isaiah (35: 1) – Stanley envisages the railroad as a sort of national panacea to heal the wounds caused by a decade of civil strife.[39] At North Platte, Nebraska, 'having an eye to pleasure as well as business,' Stanley took a train to the very end of the track and 'had an opportunity [to admire] the method of railroad construction on the Union Pacific'. Immediately after witnessing this evidence of progress for himself, Stanley presents the reader with a most contrary image: two hundred Indian warriors 'fresh from bloody exploits, and with their hands dyed with the blood of [white settlers]' (*ET* 1: 198). As John Coward notes, in the nineteenth-century American press, 'the blessings of progress and civilization were more sharply drawn against the backdrop of the savage'.[40] But although Stanley is keen to set up a contrast between the ordering force of the Government troops and the threat of chaos implied by the presence of the Indians, he does not allow the threat of disruptive savage violence to detract from his generally optimistic mood:

> From Harker to Junction City the bottom lands are studded with ranches lately built, and the voice of the ploughman is heard where but two short months ago the war whoop of the savage Indian echoed in the green woods of the smoky. Pedestrians bound for the west

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[37] Sherman to John Aaron Rawlins, 23 October 1865. Qtd. in Angevine, p. 276.
[38] In *My Early Travels* Stanley adds a footnote here vindicating his prediction: 'Twenty-one months after this letter was written, that is in May, 1869, the Great Trans-Continental Railway was completed by the junction of the Union Pacific from the East, with the Central Pacific R.R. from the West' (*ET* 1: 190).
[39] Tim Youngs notes that Stanley often constructs himself 'in ways partly reminiscent of an Old Testament prophet'. '"My Footsteps on these Pages": The Inscription of Self and Race in H. M. Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*', *Prose Studies*, 13 (1990), 230-249 (p. 244).
[40] John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 7.

> line the road [. . .] 'Excelsior' is the motto all round, and westward do empire and civilisation wend their way. (*ET* 1: 90-91)

Stanley's reference to the advance of 'empire' in the final sentence, a term not usually used in reference to the westward expansion of the United States, is perhaps an early indicator that he views events with a transatlantic eye.

Belich argues that the global 'Settler Revolution' produced its own genre of literature, a form of unofficial propaganda that continually endorsed and enshrined the project of limitless Anglo-Saxon expansion. In the American West these propagandists of migration were known as 'boosters', and they found a ready home in the newspaper offices of the frontier states.[41] Indeed the myth of the frontier had long been intertwined with the history of popular journalism in America. It was the Irish-American journalist John O' Sullivan who coined the term 'Manifest Destiny' in the pages of the *Democratic Review* in 1845, when he predicted the march of 'an irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration' westward.[42] With his relentless emphasis on social and economic progress, and his consistent rhapsodising over the limitless resources of the plains, Stanley has much in common with the typical western 'booster'. At the town of Julesburg, Colorado, Stanley had an opportunity to observe the earliest phase of Western settlement. The town was tiny, but in everyone's opinion it was on the verge of a boom:

> Although it has only a population as yet of forty men and one woman, in six months it will have a population of 2500 souls, at the rate immigrants are coming here [. . .] next week the new town will have a newspaper, which is to be called the *Frontier Index*. In two weeks the town will be a city; then the city will elect a mayor. In three weeks we predict that it will have a theatre. In four weeks the citizens will have a branch railroad to Denver and St. Louis. In six weeks New Julesburg may be the capital of Colorado, and statesmen will gather from the east and west to see this prodigy of modern times. Such is a brief sketch of the present position and future destiny of this western 'town,' according to the enthusiasts. (*ET* 125-126)

In the slightly more 'civilised' setting of Denver he saw an even more encouraging model for western modernity. As a 'gold rush' town on the edge of the Rockies, Denver's early biography had much in common with the rough and ready Julesberg, and the city fast

[41] Belich, p. 153-165.
[42] Tim Lehman, *Bloodshed at Little Bighorn: Sitting Bull, Custer and the Destinies of Nations* (Baltimore MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 10-11.

became 'notorious for the frequency of its murders' (*ET* 1: 172). But since 'the gold excitement wore off', a 'different class' of settler had arrived ('the capitalist and the honest miner') and these new immigrants had 'effected a thorough transformation in the country' (*ET* 1: 172):

> To-day, broad streets flanked by stately buildings of stone, brick, and wood meet the traveller in every part of the city. An incredible amount of business is done in some of the wholesale stores, the proprietors counting their sales by hundreds of thousands. When you consider that underneath this progressive agency lay a thick substratum of evil exceedingly detrimental to the west, one may well wonder at the extraordinary outcome of all this. The people have created out of an uninhabited, sterile wilderness of prairie and mountain no less than thirty cities, with an average population of about three thousand inhabitants. (*ET* 1: 172-173)

Here the imprint of culture, commerce, and civilisation upon the landscape is more fraught. The wilderness is perversely 'sterile' yet nefariously potent and threatening: 'a thick substratum of evil detrimental to the west'. Here nature, conceived as a form of original sin, must be sublimated to the 'progressive agency' of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. It is these settlers of the frontier – rather than the residents of the metropolis – who are, according to Stanley, the 'generators of future power and influence' (*ET* 1: 184). While he is aware of the diffusion of civilisation from central settlements, it is also clear that Stanley believes the residents of frontier towns to be enacting progress in a more urgent and exemplary way. Stanley's letters to the *Democrat* are parables of modernity, generated at the frontier and transmitted back to the metropolitan readers of St. Louis.

Indeed, Stanley continually makes the reader aware of the process by which his stories are collected, recorded and transmitted. 'What we are about to relate concerns the *Democrat* and its readers a great deal more than they would imagine on glancing at the heading', he claims in one correspondence, before embarking on the dramatic story of how a Pony Express rider carrying his last letter narrowly escaped the clutches of a group of murderous Indians (*ET* 1: 96). In another report (25 May 1867), he describes leaving 'Omaha soon after the receipt of a batch of telegrams announcing that the Indians were murdering the settlers and burning the ranches' (*ET* 1: 104). Heading back to Omaha aboard the Union Pacific on 8 August, Stanley meets 'a man named William Thompson, a native of England, who turned out to be one of the telegraph repairers'. Thompson, we are told, 'attracted a great deal of attention from the very extraordinary fact that he had

been scalped, and lived to travel and tell his tale in Omaha'. Apparently, enthusiastic voyeurs 'flocked from all parts to view the gory baldness which had come upon him so suddenly' (*ET* 1: 155). Stanley lingers over this grotesque incident – interpolating Thompson's lengthy description of being scalped alive – before dutifully describing Thompson's scalp as 'nine inches in length and four in width, somewhat resembling a drowned rat' (*ET* 1: 155-156).

The traffic of news across the vast spaces of the American West was reliant on the developing communications technologies in the region. By the late 1860s as many as six and a half of the nine columns on the front page of the *Democrat* could be taken up with news received by telegraph. Although some of these were from the Associated Press news agency, the majority were special dispatches from *Democrat* correspondents (Fig. 1.1). The editors even came up with the inventive plan of employing telegraph operators as reporters, ensuring that the paper always had a finger on the pulse of fresh information coming over the wires.[43] During and after the war, speed became an increasing concern for Western journalists as developments in stereotyping, the web-perfecting press, and electric telegraphy allowed news to travel much more quickly around the country. As John Coward explains, soon 'the best reporter was the fastest reporter, someone capable of overcoming all manner of natural and human-made obstructions to get dispatch on the wire.'[44] News also moved around the country in a clip-and-paste fashion through the post, by way of the free of charge 'newspaper exchange system', which continued to be popular right into the telegraphic period.[45] According to Coward, such information networks ensured that that the 'news flow was two-way: political and business news travelled from New York, Washington, and the state capitols to regional cities and small towns, while the smaller papers fed their news to the urban dailies'.[46] The letters penned by Stanley, replete with tales of scalping, railroad building, and pitched battles, quickly found their way to the desks of metropolitan editors (Fig. 1.2).[47] These networks of distribution thus served as a dual-carriageway of modernity, with official information diffused from the metropolis to the margin and updates from the frontier transmitted back to the big cities.

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[43] Hart, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, pp. 96, 103.
[44] Coward, p. 16.
[45] Nerone, p. 144.
[46] Coward, p. 14. For more on the postal transmission of news see Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[47] Stanley's letters were syndicated to other newspapers and eventually caught the attention of Gordon Bennett, editor of the *Herald*, who subsequently hired Stanley as a special correspondent (*A* 235). Jeal, *Stanley*, 70.

1.3 The Great Father

The United States Peace Commission was established by an act of Congress on 20 June 1867, largely to ensure the safety of white settlers and workmen constructing the Union Pacific Railroad through native hunting lands, and to coax the hostile Indian nations onto reservations. The commission was led by Nathaniel G. Taylor, the Government's Commissioner for Indian Affairs, and was mostly made up of liberal, religious-minded men who sought to civilise rather than eradicate the Indian. The official report of the Commission was largely critical of the government's previous dealings with the Cheyenne, Sioux and Kiowa. Whereas previously the resistant Indian had been met by coercion disguised as reform, the commission attempted 'the hitherto untried policy in connection with Indians, of endeavouring to conquer by kindness'. While previous ambassadors of 'civilisation' had come 'with the ten commandments in one hand and the sword in the other', demanding the Indian's 'immediate extermination', the Peace Commission would aim to convert the Indians from savage hunter-gatherers into industrious farmers.[48] In a phrase borrowed from the Indians themselves, epitomising the government's fraught attempt to foster a benevolent image, the commissioners conventionally referred to the President and Congress as the 'Great Father' throughout their negotiations with the Indian chiefs.[49]

Stanley was initially sceptical of the commission's aims. He confessed to his readers 'grave doubts that anything lasting will come of treaties of peace between a civilised nation and bands of savages' (*ET* 1: 153). However, he *was* impressed by the rhetoric of Generals Hancock and Sherman. Hancock seamlessly combined overtures of parental benevolence with veiled threats, and in spite of his moderate language, he was quick to dole out punitive violence against uncooperative natives – as Stanley witnessed when the general's troops were 'compelled' to burn a Cheyenne village (*ET* 1: 45-47). In Stanley's account, Hancock emphasises the inevitability of white expansion in order to convince the Cheyenne and Kiowa that they must entrust their fate to the parental guardianship of the state:

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[48] 'Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission', 7 January 1868. Qtd. in Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: the United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. 491. The activities of the Peace Commission are outlined in Prucha, *Great Father*, pp. 488-96.
[49] Prucha, *Great Father*, xxviii.

> The white men are coming out here so fast that nothing can stop them – coming from the east and coming from the west, like a prairie on fire in a high wind. The reason of it is because the whites are a great people, and they are spreading out and we cannot help it. Those on one sea in the west want to communicate with another sea in the east, and that is the reason they are building these wagon roads, and railroads and telegraphs. (*ET* 1: 80)

Hancock's message to Satanta, chief of the Kiowa, was blunt: 'You know very well that in a few more years the game will go away. What will you do then? You will have to depend upon the white man to assist you, and depend upon the Great Father to feed you when hungry' (*ET* 1: 79). Although Hancock's superior, General William T. Sherman – whom Stanley travelled with in the autumn of 1867 – was supposed to be making amends for Hancock's blustering attempts to pacify the Sioux and Cheyenne, his rhetoric was equally abrasive.[50] The Indians had to either adapt to the agricultural way of life or face annihilation.[51]

> The white men are taking all the good land. If you don't choose your homes now, it will be too late next year. This railroad up the Platte and the Smoky Hill railroad will be built [. . .] and if your young men will interfere, the Great Father, who, out of love for you, withheld his soldiers, will let loose his young men, and you will be swept away. (*ET* 1: 210)

Throughout Sherman's address, Anglo-Saxon modernity and the expansion of the white race are presented as inevitabilities beyond the control of individuals or governments. Manifest Destiny is envisaged as an irresistible natural force: 'you cannot stop the locomotive any more than you can stop the sun or moon, and you must submit, and do the best you can'. However, the Commission was keen to suggest to the Indians that they too could partake in the 'modernization' of the West, and Sherman also offered expenses-paid excursions to any Indian who wished 'to travel east to see the wealth and power of the whites' (*ET* 1: 211).

The treaties drawn up at Medicine Lodge, Kansas would confine the Plains nations to increasingly small reservations and force them to adopt an agricultural lifestyle.

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[50] On Sherman's role in the Peace Commision see Robert G. Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (1956; repr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pp. 171-182.

[51] In the aftermath of the 'Fetterman Massacre' of 1866 (at which 81 soldiers were killed in an ambush by a group of Lakota near Fort Kearney, Nebraska), Sherman wrote to Ulysses S. Grant, then the highest ranking General in the U. S. Army: 'We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination, men, women and children. Nothing less will reach the root of the case.' William T. Sherman, Letter to Ulysses S. Grant, 28 December 1866 qtd. in George A. Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains and Horrors of Indian Warfare* (St. Louis: Sun Publishing, 1886), p. 119.

The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache were compelled to cede more than 160,000 km^2 of traditional tribal lands to the government in exchange for a three million acre reservation (12,000 km^2) in the southwest of the Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma). The treaty also stipulated that permanent houses, barns, and schools would be built on the reservations – a point which several chiefs vociferously disputed. In a separate treaty, the Cheyenne also had their territory halved. Both treaties were endorsed by the signature of 'Henry Stanley, Correspondent'.[52] Years later, Stanley would – in a similar manoeuvre – obtain the signatures of hundreds of Congolese chiefs, in a series of dubious negotiations which resulted in King Leopold II claiming the massive Congo Free State as his personal property.[53] The American frontier clearly had a formative influence on Stanley's way of thinking about modernity, civilisation, and 'savagery'.

1.4 Vanishing Americans

For Emerson, American civilisation achieved its highest ends when riding the wave, rather than stemming the tide, of nature: 'We cannot bring the heavenly powers to us; but, if we will only choose our jobs in directions in which they travel, they will undertake them with the greatest pleasure'.[54] Likewise, Turner observed that the earliest trading-posts were set 'on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature', and that these commodious settlements had since 'grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City'.[55] Turner expands upon this point by using biological metaphors to describe the encroachment of culture upon nature:

> Thus civilization in America has followed the arteries made by geology, pouring an ever richer tide through them, until at last the slender paths of aboriginal intercourse have been broadened and interwoven into the complex mazes of modern commercial lines; the wilderness has been interpenetrated by lines of civilization growing ever more numerous. It is like the steady growth of a complex nervous system for the originally simple, inert continent [. . .] In this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist.[56]

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[52] Charles J. Kappler (ed.) *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), vol. II, pp. 977–89. For a detailed discussion of the negotiations see Stan Hoig, *The Battle of Washita: The Sheridan-Custer Indian Campaign of 1867-69* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), pp. 22-38

[53] Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Pan Macmillan, 1999, pp. 61-74.

[54] Emerson, p. 24.

[55] Turner, *Frontier*, p. 14.

[56] Ibid., p. 14-15.

Turner suggests here that civilisation is determined by nature and yet continually overwhelms it. Here, the indigenous inhabitants are acknowledged as agents of primitive development, forging 'slender paths of aboriginal intercourse'. But as this evolutionary narrative of 'progress from savage conditions' plays out, what space is left for the Indian at the modern frontier?

In his account of the Peace Commission, Stanley is eager to give an impression of open-mindedness with respect to the indigenous inhabitants of the plains. While travelling with Hancock, he describes 'a great many noble faces among the Indians around the council fire'. One particularly impressive fellow, we are told, 'somewhat resembled President Jackson'. This comes as a surprise to Stanley, who was 'formerly under the impression that there were no noble-looking Indians, save in the fervid fancies of a Fenimore Cooper' (*ET* 1: 35). At the Kansas Medicine Lodge, the reporter's romantic imagination is again piqued on the arrival of a delegation of 'powerfully built [Comanche] warriors'. These figures bring to mind 'the wonderful stories of Mayne Reid and other authors, and the various battles said to have taken place between this warlike nation and the Texan Rangers' (*ET* 1: 232).[57] As is clear from Stanley's references, his impressions of Native Americans are mediated by a long literary mythology of the Indian. As the *Boy's Own Paper* would later note, Stanley's letters followed a proven formula of 'Western' literature, 'crowded with the usual Red Indian properties of palefaces and scalps, and trails and council fires, and calumets, bucks and squaws, all in the good old style'.[58] In crossing the Atlantic to romanticise the West, Stanley was in fact part of a long literary tradition; for as Kate Flint points out, many of the most successful romancers of the West, including Mayne Reid and Charles Murray, were of British origin.[59]

But although Stanley encounters Indians who appear to vindicate the 'fervid fancies' of the romancers, he allows himself to be disillusioned just as often as he romanticises. The Indians therefore are not only constructed in opposition to white men, they are also judged by the extent to which they conform to idealized types derived from romantic art and literature. While travelling through Kansas, Stanley is struck by the contrast between the 'scenically pretty' site on which a band of Cheyenne have pitched

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[57] Born in County Down, Thomas Mayne Reid (1818-1883) was a prolific author of adventure novels, including several set in the West. He was a particular favourite of Stanley's. H. M. Stanley, 'New African Expedition', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Aug. 1876, p. 2.

[58] W. J. Gordon, 'Stanley the Explorer: His Boyhood and Manhood', *Boy's Own Paper*, 4 Jan. 1890, p. 214-15 (p. 214).

[59] Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 6. The aristocrat and diplomat Charles Augustus Murray (1806–1895) lived with a group of Pawnee Indians for three months and later recounted his experiences in *Travels in North America* (1839). His Western novel *The Prairie Bird* (1844) was also a success (*DNB*).

their camp and the village itself which is 'so foul [. . .] as to defy description' (*ET* 1: 40). Of course, a lengthy description follows, in which Stanley is particularly fascinated by the dishevelled state of the Indian women:

> We may shock the sensibilities of romance-loving boys and girls by relating the manner in which the dark-eyed aboriginal damsel is espoused. There have been poems sung on the beauties of Pocahontas and Hiawatha, but we have not seen an Indian girl yet that we could compose an ode upon. The voluptuous form, olive features, ripe, red lips, delicate feet, well-formed ankles, humid eyes, wavy masses of raven hair, a queenly head and a swan-like neck, as described by the Cooper and Murray type of romancers, we have not seen. (*ET* 1: 40-41)

From the evidence of his own limited experience, Stanley assures his reader that '[morality] is hardly known amongst the Indians' and that, as 'a mother, the squaw ranks but little above the lower animals [. . .] possessing, apparently, no instinctive forethought, she as frequently introduces her young into the world on the open prairie as under the friendly shelter of the wigwam' (*ET* 1: 44). Later on, the seeming degeneracy of the Indians is contrasted with a family of German immigrants, whom Stanley anticipates will 'with their healthy, pure, fresh blood [. . .] people the Occidental portion of the country with energetic humanity' (*ET* 1: 103).[60] If the frontier is, as Turner has suggested, a zone of 'perennial rebirth', then the Indians represent its barren antithesis, a sterile blot on this fertile mythic space. In the paradox that governed the official rhetoric of the Peace Commission, the Indians are both innocent children who need to be taken care of and senile vestiges whose days were numbered. In Stanley's mind the Indian's ethical claim to his ancestral land is but a 'mad dream [flitting] across his poor brain'. The sublimation of the Indian to the 'yoke of civilisation' is ambiguously conflated with his imminent extinction, so that, just as 'the buffalo and the antelope vanish, so will they, and that before many years have elapsed' (*ET* 1: 36). Through Stanley's comparison of the buffalo and the Indian the categories of extinction and extermination (and nature and culture) are deliberately blurred. By removing human agency from the equation, Stanley effectively depoliticises the 'Indian Problem' and genocide becomes just another chapter in the frontier narrative of the settler mastering the wilderness.

[60] We should bear in mind here that the *Missouri Democrat* had a large readership of first and second generation German immigrants.

In the introduction to the 1831 edition of *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), James Fenimore Cooper (perhaps the greatest single influence on the nineteenth-century ideal of the romantic Indian) lamented 'the seemingly inevitable fate of all these people, who disappear before the [. . .] inroads of civilisation, as the verdure of their native forests falls before the nipping frost'.[61] As Brian Dippie has noted, the notion that the American Indian is on the verge of extinction is 'a constant in American thinking [. . .] a tradition rich in pathos and older than the Republic'.[62] Similarly, Renee Bergland has argued that 'the birth of the American nation and the death of the native American were as closely related as light and shadow', and that throughout American history the impending demise of the Indian has been an essential part of the white narrative of progress and the mythology of the frontier.[63] Lora Romero argues that novelists like Fenimore Cooper represent 'the disappearance of the native not just as natural but as having already happened', and that, for Cooper, the 'racial other' becomes 'an earlier and now irretrievably lost version of the self' or a 'phase that the human race goes through but must inevitably get over.'[64] More recently, Kate Flint has suggested that we need to appreciate the extent to which the American Indian was continually abstracted in literary accounts. Indians were often treated 'not as historical beings in their own right but as symbols for a more diffuse sense of loss and melancholy'. In this sense, the Indian could be a metaphor for stubborn conservatism or an idealised and abstracted symbol of a unobtainable past, a 'figure in opposition to a modernity [. . .] characterized as artificial, mechanical, and drained of natural, instinctual emotions'.[65]

The tendency to romanticise the Other, while simultaneously desiring its eradication, is not a contrary instinct. As Dippie explains, the rhetoric of the 'vanishing Indian' is always 'shot through with ambivalence'. The idea of the Indian as an endangered species allows for 'a perfect fusion of the nostalgic with the progressive impulse.'[66] Thus Stanley's flip-flopping between romantic 'Fenimore Cooper types' and bestial savages need not be read as the manifestation of some internal ideological conflict. As John Coward suggests, the noble savage and the cruel barbarian are not necessarily oppositional figures;

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[61] James Fenimore Cooper*, The Last of the Mohicans*. 1826 (1826; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 9.
[62] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), pp. xi.
[63] Renee L. Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 2000), p. 40.
[64] Lora Romero, 'Vanishing Americans: Gender, Empire and New Historicism', in Shirley Samuels (ed.), *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 115,120-21.
[65] Flint, p. 6.
[66] Dippie, p. xii.

indeed, both rely on placing the Indian in an exaggerated proximity to 'nature', just as the white man's proper sphere is 'culture'.[67] For Stanley's post-Darwinian generation, coming of age in the 1860s, the trope of the 'Vanishing American' would be invested and legitimated by a new scientific vocabulary, but there was certainly nothing new about the rhetoric itself, or the tendency of the American Government to assume that they were dealing with an inevitably decaying and dissolute culture and act accordingly.

In Stanley's final correspondence from the Nebraskan Peace Commission (24 Nov 1867), he sketches a speculative natural history of the Indian nations and provides his readers with clear evidence for their degeneration, deliberately inviting unfavourable comparison with the progressive mentality of white settlers. He begins by comparing the historical Indian, who has been made known by Euro-American historians, with the mysterious and unknowable pre-Columbian Indian: 'So far as concerns the last three centuries, we have many voluminous histories of America and her aborigines, but of the prehistoric period we know almost nothing' (*ET* 1. 274-275). In spite of this prehistoric absence, Stanley goes on to describe the ghostly archaeological remains of a once-vibrant pre-Columbian culture. In the Rockies he finds evidence of ancient mining, while in Arizona and Mexico there are:

> Majestic temples, standing solitary and alone [. . .] monuments of national glory; cities filled with stately mansions, with wide streets totally deserted, imposing edifices of worship which in their ruins appear as if weeping for the departed prestige, and valour of the past. (*ET* 1: 276)

In this elegy for the ruins of an extinguished 'national glory' and the humbling evidence of the 'astonishing degeneracy' of indigenous races across the New World, a clear warning is directed at the modern ambassadors of progress. Modernity must be continually and vigilantly practised in order to ensure the 'perennial rebirth' of civilisation. Stanley neatly elides the role of Europeans in the collapse of indigenous civilisations by suggesting that it was, in fact, the ancestors of the present 'wild Indians' of the plains who were 'the devastators of semi-civilised America'. In line with Emerson, he also sees the decline of Amerindian civilisation as a symptom of its insularity: having 'no means of intercourse with other nations, we may suppose they gradually relapsed into barbarism — barbarism so profound that it will take a century to wean them back' (*ET* 1. 276-77).

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[67] Coward, p. 7.

Technologies of communication and 'means of intercourse' are something of a preoccupation for Stanley. It is for this reason that he frequently emphasises the telegraph and railway as channels for the diffusion of civilising discourse, the exchange of transnational sociability and the gathering of geographical information (see Chapter 2). Thus the Indian 'system of violence', which so frequently targets the railways and telegraphs, becomes the perfect antithesis to the progressive tendencies of the frontier. As Daniel Bivona notes, in his apparent insistence on the 'morality of infrastructure', Stanley could be accused of a certain 'infrastructural fetishism'. This tendency reaches is exemplified in his later African writings, in which Stanley continually stresses 'the importance of political and infrastructural transformation as a precondition for trade'.[68]

However, the socio-racial dichotomy between the progressive, communicative settler and the conservative, insular savage is not unproblematic. As Turner explains, the 'Frontiersman' has an ambivalent relationship with nature and is, by necessity, forced into a semi-savage state before he can elevate himself to a loftier position. He is a species of 'half-breed', who, as Stanley observes, resides along 'the narrow line existing between east and west' and speaks his own 'peculiar dialect' (*ET* 1: 140). Although Stanley is, for the most part, approving of the pioneering and indefatigable spirit of the frontier dwellers, he nonetheless adds a note of caution, reminding the reader that without the law and order supplied by the state, the white settler may also have to resort to savagery in the name of self-preservation:

> It is generally believed here that, if the present suicidal policy of the Government is carried on much longer, the plains' settlers must succumb to the unequal conflict, or unite in bands to carry on the war after the manner of the Indians, which means to kill, burn, destroy Indian villages, innocent papooses and squaws, scalp the warriors, and mutilate the dead; in fact, follow in the same course as the red men, that their name may be rendered a terror to all Indians. (*ET* 1: 108)

Although Stanley tries his best to sketch out a racially exclusive mythology of white expansion, the realities of the racially complex and culturally-hybridised frontier cut against his attempts at mythmaking. Indeed, his concluding sketch on the natural history of the Indian outlines some current theories on their racial origins, including one suggestion that the Indians are 'descendants of the ancient Britons, who emigrated to the far west under

[68] Daniel Bivona, *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940: Writing and the Administration of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 66, 52.

Dafydd ap Llewellyn and became lost to history' – a theory which may have made the young Welsh reporter puzzle over his evaluation of the Sioux and Cheyenne as atavistic savages ripe for extinction (*ET* 1: 274-275).[69]

1.5 Reservations

Stanley frequently characterises the collision between Euro-American modernity and primitive savagery as a struggle for dominance which inevitably leads to the 'survival of the fittest' (the Anglo-Saxon race) in an interracial version of natural selection.[70] Yet, he explicitly rejects deliberate genocide and states that 'extermination, which is often urged by vindictive Western men, is alike impolitic as it is barbarous' (*ET* 1: 36). Of course, Stanley's justification for his humanitarian stance is essentially pragmatic:

> To make a war of extermination would involve vast expense; besides, it is not enterprise [*sic*] becoming a great nation. Everything points to the coming destruction of the aboriginals of North America, but we should not hasten their doom, if it be possible to avoid it. There ought to be a large tract of land given them, where they may hunt the buffalo, the antelope, and other game, as of old. (*ET* 1: 14).

In a later dispatch, he reiterates his position in a more succinct formula: 'Extermination is a long word, but a longer task, and civilisation cannot sanction it' (*ET* 1: 134). It is difficult to disentangle how much of this rhetoric is Stanley's own and how much is adherence to the official line of the relatively liberal *Missouri Democrat* at a time when popular opinion was moving towards the idea that the Indians of the plains needed to be contained rather than eradicated.[71] As an alternative to extermination, the reservation entered the frame as a contradictory blend of conservation space and racial hospice. The reservation scheme, as understood by Stanley, was clearly a system of racial apartheid: 'set apart a sufficient territory, drive all the tribes within its limits, surround it with garrisons that none may leave

[69] Dafydd ap Llywelyn (c. 1215 – 1246), the Prince of Gwynedd, led a rebellion against Henry III in 1241.
[70] Darwin offers some endorsement of this interpretation of natural selection in the *Descent of Man* when he suggests that at 'some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races.' Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 201.
[71] One event which led to widespread criticism of military efforts to 'pacify' the plains was the Sand Creek Massacre of 29 November 1864. At Sand Creek, Colorado a battalion of 700 troops under the command of Col. John Chivington had run amok killing and mutilating around 160 Cheyenne, mainly women and children. An official investigation, conducted in March 1865 by the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, alleged that Chivington had 'deliberately planned and executed a foul and dastardly massacre which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were victims of his cruelty'. Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 165-68.

it, and into which no white may enter without a special pass' (*ET* 1: 129-130). But paradoxically the reservation was also touted as a space in which the Indians could potentially be reformed and rehabilitated as modern citizens. Stanley cites the example of the Cherokee, a once warlike tribe who since being moved to a reservation west of the Mississippi 'have increased in population, advanced in intelligence, and have acquired wealth':

> They possess a newspaper and printing press, the Bible in their own language, almanacks, hymns, and other books of instruction. They have written laws, an organised government, a head chief, elected every four years, and a judiciary, consisting of a supreme court, circuit and district courts. (*ET* 1: 134)[72]

Similarly the Lenapes of Kansa 'now possess schools, and conduct themselves as civilised people', while '[beautiful] farms, neat cottages, commodious schools, and churches adorn their reservation' (*ET* 1: 134-135). In these examples the racialist schema of the reservation has as its goal not irreconcilable difference but cultural homogenisation. But in Stanley's text, the 'civilised' Indian is more often presented as a subject of mockery than aspiration. The reservation Indian presents an effeminised and even degraded figure when viewed alongside the unrestrained masculinity of his 'wild' counterpart. Although Stanley suggests that 'even some of the barbarous Sioux, whose voices have always been for war, have changed, and now adopt the customs of civilised life', these individuals are 'hooted and scorned by the wild Sioux, and their willingness to adopt the ways of the pale-face is construed as degeneracy' (*ET* 1: 134-135).

The reservation therefore becomes the site of both modern disciplinary practices and cultural nostalgia. It is a space in which to enact modernity and contemplate history, a place where the future is ordained, and the past is preserved. In this sense the reservation Indian is constructed as both a remnant of nature and an artefact of history. Stanley's letters to the *Democrat* share some of these characteristics, in that these texts diffuse the mythology and ideology of imperialism, nationalism, and racism, but also function as a sort of textual reservation in which Indian voices can be safely aired, and Indian customs

[72] The Cherokee were one of the so-called 'Five Civilised Tribes' (along with the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles). These nations were based in the south eastern states (modern Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana) and had adopted European agricultural practices in the early nineteenth-century. After the passing of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the 'Civilised Tribes' were expelled from their lands and forced to migrate (along the 'trail of tears') to the barren Indian Territories west of the Mississippi. Bruce Johansen, *The Native Peoples of North America: A History* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 203-10

described and even appreciated, without posing any real threat to the dominant ideology. In Stanley's letters we hear many voices of resistance to the reservation scheme, and the speeches of the Indian delegations to the Peace Commission are given at least as much space as the Congressional and military speakers. In one of her editorial glosses to Stanley's *Autobiography*, Stanley's widow Dorothy (née Tennant), suggests that in all of 'Stanley's picturesque story […] the most striking feature is the speeches of the Indian chiefs as they set forth the feelings and wishes of their people' (*A* 226). Stanley himself acknowledged, in his 1895 preface to *My Early Travels*, that few 'can read the speeches of the Indian chiefs without feeling deep sympathy for them' (*ET* 1: vii). But as Laura Mielke has suggested, the sympathetic portrayal of Indians could also serve to legitimate the repressive activities of the State: 'The "inevitability" of Indian departure and the end of the encounter was a necessary condition for an essentially unsustainable, interracial, transcultural sympathy'. In literary depictions of the intercultural encounter, Mielke suggests, 'sympathy and doom existed in a symbiotic relationship that indulged audience desire for affective connection in a temporally circumscribed fashion'.[73]

At the Medicine Lodge meeting of 19 October 1867, the Kiowa chief Satanta responded to a speech by the Missouri Senator John B. Henderson by asserting his claim over the land in no uncertain terms: 'All the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas and Comanches, and I don't want to give away any of it. I love the land and the buffalo, and will not part with any'. He also rebuked the reservation scheme: 'I have heard that you intend to settle us on a reservation near the mountains, I don't want to settle there, I love to roam over the wide prairie, and when I do it I feel free and happy, but when we settle down, we grow pale and die'. The chief's entreaties, we are told, result in 'a rather blank look upon the faces of the Peace Commissioners' (*ET* 1: 248-249). The Comanche Ten Bears rejects the reservation scheme in similar terms: 'I wish you would not insist on putting us on a reservation. We prefer to roam over the prairie when we want to do so [. . .] I want my country to be pure and clean' (*ET* 1: 253). During a subsequent negotiation at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Stanley records another 'most logical speech' from the Crow chief, Black Tooth:

> He carefully took up the past history of his nation, and placed their general characteristics in a plain manner before the whites, and then drew his inferences from their past conduct, as to what they would do in the future [. . .] As he uttered this earnest request his voice

[73] Laura L. Mielke, *Moving Encounters : Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), p. 4.

> rose to the pitch of passion, his gestures rapid, his eyes flashed with excitement, and his old form trembled under his emotion. [. . .] Then again, as he described the cheats practised upon his people by the whites, his voice sunk into whispers, while every gesture was eloquence itself [. . .] At times he appeared like some prophet of old about to declare the evil that would surely follow this monstrous robbery of their lands, and again his lips would wreathe with lofty scorn for the underhand work to which the pale-faces stooped [. . .] but finally calming down his wild passion, he implored the Commissioners to take pity upon them, and do right for once. (*ET* 1: 271-72)

In Stanley's narrative the righteous claims of the indigenous people to their ancestral lands are not *suppressed* but rather *managed*. The pleas of the Indians are set within a broader imperial 'context', which insists on the futility of any resistance to 'progress.' Black Tooth's eloquence is acknowledged, and his 'righteous demands' are accepted as such, but he is ultimately portrayed as a figure out of time: an old world prophet and a sentimental mystic perhaps, but not a practical politician.

In the aftermath of the Commission, Stanley seems to reassess somewhat his opinions of the Indians and is even willing to express his esteem for certain aspects of their culture. Though many Indian traditions, such as their 'language, songs, and proverbs' are, in Stanley's opinion 'calculated to raise a smile, at their very absurdity', they are nonetheless 'highly poetical' (*ET* 1: 278). An Indian medicine man is described as the 'image of the African Obi' – indicating the interchangeability of 'savages' the world over – but he is also compared to the 'medical quacks who advertise their universal pills as infallible specifics for all diseases' (*ET* 1: 281). Stanley even acknowledges that:

> [The] Indian doctors have been of great use to the United States pharmacopoeia. They have discovered several valuable herbs, for which those suffering from ague and fever should be grateful. Vapour baths they frequently have recourse to for the care of their sick. Catarrhal and rheumatic affections, asthma, coughs, dropsy, diarrhoea, and amenorrhoea, they generally treat with great skill. (*ET* 1: 281)

These scenes, witnessed during his visit to the reservation, along with 'several other things equally strange and novel to us' leave Stanley and his fellow reporters 'with a higher appreciation of a peaceable Indian than ever we had before' (*ET* 1: 284-285).

Stanley's visit to the camp of the reservation-bound peaceable Indians is a pleasant excursion and lacks any of the danger and violence which the reader has come to

expect of the frontier. In this contained environment, Stanley's tendency towards cultural relativism cannot be clearly separated from the exoticism, primitivism, and downright racism with which it is jumbled. But although scenes like this may play to the sentimental appetites of the readers of romance, similar sentiments have long played a role in anti-colonial and anti-imperial discourse – particularly the reassessment of the role of the Indian in American culture and the campaign for Native American rights. Both cultural imperialism and cultural relativism spring from the encounters of the contact zone. If we are to acknowledge the role Stanley's despatches played in the transmission of imperial ideology and ethnocentric constructs of modernity, we must also acknowledge the fact that increasingly detailed accounts of Native Americans would in time contribute to a greater appreciation of their claims to the land, and a greater understanding of their desire for cultural autonomy. In this way too, the margin would eventually play its role in modernising the metropolis.

Stanley's expedition to the plains, which had begun with settlers 'flying from their burning homes; the bloody implements of death [. . .] gleaming in hundreds of hostile hands [and] the newspapers every day [. . .] teeming with accounts of outrages and atrocities perpetrated on the plains', concludes with the correspondent's (somewhat premature) declaration that: 'peace reigns all over the plains' (*ET* 1. 288-289). Signing off in 'booster' mode, Stanley assures this readers 'that the plains may be safely traversed from East to West, by all who desire to reach the Gold-fields of Colorado and the Pacific' and – ominously – that the 'cavalry under General Custer will continue scouring the belt between the Arkansas and the Platte rivers' (*ET* 1: 291).[74]

According to Dorothy Stanley, her husband's letters to the *Missouri Democrat* represent 'the graphic story of the significant and momentous contact of civilization with savagery' (*A* 225). During his time in the West:

> Stanley was unconsciously acquiring a preliminary lesson in dealing with savage races. The tone in which Sherman, Henderson and Commissioner Taylor, spoke to the Indians, now as to warriors, now as to children, gave hints which, later, Stanley put to good use. And the experiences of the Indians suggests a parallel with that of the Congo natives as each met the whites. (*A* 227)[75]

[74] Custer was killed on 25 June 1876 after an ill-judged cavalry charge on a large force of Sioux and Cheyenne camped along the Little Big Horn River in Montana. For a detailed history see Lehman, *Bloodshed at Little Bighorn*.

[75] Hammond and Jablow suggest that the trope of the 'African as child' is a mid-Victorian invention. It is therefore tempting to consider the possibility that this mode of Africanist rhetoric was partially influenced by

While, working for the *Democrat*, Stanley also contributed occasional pieces to other journals, including the *Cincinnati Commercial*, the *Chicago Republican* and – more importantly – three New York 'dailies': the *Tribune*, the *Times* and the *Herald*. It was on the back of the success of his letters to the *Democrat* that Stanley walked into the office James Gordon Bennett Jr., editor of the *New York Herald*, on 16 December 1867.[76] Bennett had, according to Stanley's account, read the young reporter's 'letters and telegrams' from the Hancock and Sherman campaigns and agreed to pay him on a letter-by-letter basis to report on the British expedition against the Emperor Tewodros (Theodore) of Abyssinia (*A* 228).[77] On the 22 January, Stanley set out from London to rendezvous with the British expeditionary force on his first journey to Africa, carrying letters of introduction from General Sherman and the future President Ulysses S. Grant (*A* 229).[78]

When, two years later, Stanley was leading his own expedition to Central Africa – the famous mission to find David Livingstone – he was to utilise his experiences of the American frontier in his dealings with African 'savages'. In the country of Uhha in the region of Kimenyi, Stanley's expedition encountered a village ruled by a 'gorgeously-dressed chief' named Mionvu. The chief demanded what Stanley deemed to be an exorbitant tribute and threatened the expedition with violence if they refused to pay up. As Stanley pondered his response 'the words of General Sherman [. . .] to the chiefs of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes at North Platte, in 1867' came to his mind. He decided to embody 'something of their spirit' in his reply to Mionvu:

> Mionvu must understand that the white men are different from the black. White men do not leave their country to fight the black people, neither do they come here to buy ivory or slaves. They come to make friends with black people; they come to search for rivers; and lakes, and mountains; [. . .] the white people know everything, and are very strong. When they fight, the Arabs and the Wangwana run away. We have great guns which thunder, and when they shoot the earth trembles; we have guns which carry bullets further than you can see: even with these little things (pointing to my revolvers) I could kill ten men quicker than you could count. (*HFL* 311-312) .

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the large quantity of 'Western' literature consumed by British reading public from the 1830s on. Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, *The Africa that Never Was* (New York: Twayne, 1970), p. 65. On the reception of 'Western' fiction in Britain during this period see Flint, pp. 136-166.

[76] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004), vol. 1, p. 67.

[77] Jeal, *Stanley*, p. 70.

[78] As a Confederate infantryman Stanley had fought against both Grant and Sherman at the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862 (*A* 186-204).

The speech with its cajoling tones and overtures of violence is characteristic of the rhetoric the explorer used to negotiate and battle his way across Africa. But we can see that this is a form of oratory born on the American frontier and embodying much of that particular vision of modernisation. The Great Father alternates between offers of assimilation and threats of annihilation, as the power of modern technology is expressed in the pseudo-archaic language of myth and superstition by an Old Testament God wielding a revolver.

Stanley's final African journey saw him once again take on the mantle of frontier journalist. In 1898 he made a trip through Rhodesia, Natal, and the Cape Colony and recounted his journey in a series of letters for the magazine *South Africa*, a weekly journal on colonial affairs published in London. He devotes most of his time to Bulawayo, the terminus of the Bechuanaland Railway in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Stanley's final significant work is another hymn to frontier modernity. He proudly announces that he has come 'all the way from London, 7300 miles away, to celebrate the arrival of the locomotive to Bulawayo' and expresses his surprise that it has taken so long to connect Rhodesia to the Cape, given that 'the whole country seems to have been created for railway making. It offers as few difficulties as the London Embankment. Hyde Park is extremely uneven compared with it'.[79] Stanley sees the same frontier spirit in the settlers of 'Go-Ahead Bulawayo' as he saw in the American West and, much like his *Democrat* despatches, these accounts of 'explosive colonisation' are transmitted back to London to reinvigorate the metropolis and encourage further colonisation.[80] The final despatch concludes, however, not with an image of the indefatigable settler but of the embattled native. In the final passage, Stanley responds to a journalist's query as to whether he believes 'the black men in South Africa are likely to disappear as the whites increase?'

> No [. . .] I do not think they will. There are now so many wedges of white population between the native territories that any native movement can at once be checked. I see abundance of hope in that direction for the prevention of any federation of the natives such as used to be tried in the early days of the American Colonies. There the cause was want of communication, with an enormous area covered by Indians and only a few scattered settlements of whites, but in South Africa you have nothing of that kind. The natives will all be wanted. There are certain things that they alone can do, such as working

[79] H. M. Stanley, *Through South Africa* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1898), p. 4.
[80] Ibid., p. 69.

in the open air in the summer. The white men are the makers of money, and the natives must naturally be the hewers of wood and drawers of water.[81]

1.6 Conclusion

James Belich has makes the case for reading the internal migration of white Americans westward alongside the large-scale migration from Britain and Ireland to settler colonies in Canada, South Africa and Australasia. By constructing these settler colonies as the 'British West', and incorporating the American frontier within a broader narrative of an expanding global 'Anglo-world', Belich reads the 'conquest of the west' and the rise of 'Greater Britain' in tandem.[82] It is therefore important to read Stanley's later works – and his lifelong ambition to turn equatorial Africa into a productive settler colony – in the context of his early experience of the frontier. The settler colonies were conceived as a bourgeois zone of experimentation and class mobility, as outlets for the Anglo-Saxon life-force and work ethic. It is this 'frontier spirit' which Stanley emphasises as the key resource of that transatlantic and transnational tribe, the Anglo-Saxons. It was at the frontier where this expansive and progressive people were given free reign and so, for Stanley, the frontier was where modernity *happened*.

Of course, for many nineteenth-century thinkers struggle was the key agent of progress and modernity. For Darwin the 'struggle for existence' engendered natural selection and the progress of the favoured races.[83] For Marx and Engels the struggle between classes had precipitated the rise of the bourgeoisie, but would also secure their inevitable destruction and the triumph of the proletariat.[84] Similarly, Stanley's *Missouri Democrat* letters point to the frontier as a space of racial, political, and ideological struggle. He takes care to draw distinctions between extinction due to competition and the deliberate extermination of 'savage' races, and so attempts to naturalise the 'natural selection' of the Anglo-Saxons as the progressive inheritors of the West. Although he frequently allows Indians to put forward their ethical case in reported speeches – and

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[81] Ibid., p. 140. Stanley's reference to 'the hewers of wood and drawers of water' is Joshua's curse upon the Gibeonites of Canaan (Joshua 9: 23), a passage frequently quoted in contemporary discussions of racial determinism and colonial administration.

[82] Belich, pp. 67-70, 261-94. For a reading of the American Government's Indian policy as a from of colonialism see Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[83] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, ed. by Gillian Beer (1859; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 2, 49.

[84] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'The Communist Manifesto', trans. by Samuel Moore in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. by David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 221-47 (pp. 222-231).

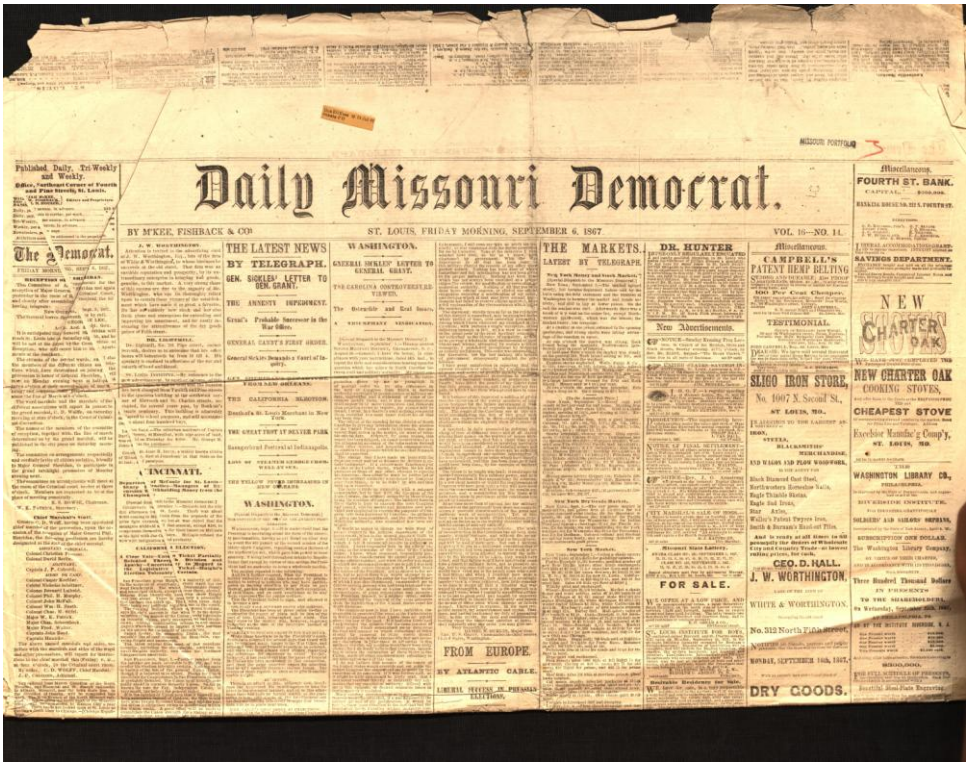
occasionally expresses sympathy with their plight – Stanley ultimately presents the Indians as degenerate and conservative when compared with the virile and progressive Anglo-Saxons.

In Turner's frontier thesis, the rhetoric of technological and industrial 'development' and the pseudo-scientific discourse of racial 'struggle' would merge to produce a unified narrative of 'social evolution':

> The United States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read this continental page from West to East we find the record of social evolution. It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the pathfinder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intensive culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally the manufacturing organization with city and factory system.[85]

The presence of indigenous populations in these zones of expansion might have been sheer inconvenience. But as we have seen, for Stanley and many others they become invaluable in the imprecise and often inconsistent process of negation by which American civilization was defined. The proximate presence of the 'savage' was instrumental to the enactment of Anglo-Saxon modernity. Both Turner and Emerson had conceived this process as a two-act drama: in the first the 'wilderness masters the colonist'; in the second it is the wilderness that is 'little by little' transformed by the colonist, who (unlike the savage) has the power and will to transcend his natural state and become – in the triumphant final scene – civilised. Nobody was better placed to record this drama than the frontier correspondent.

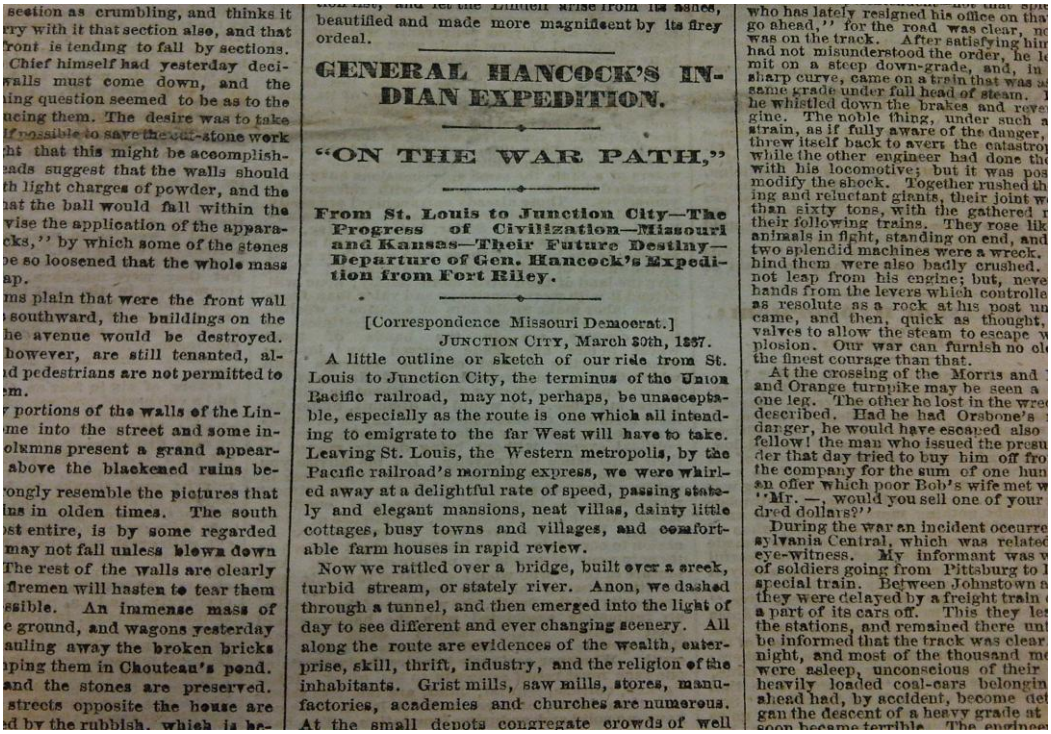
[85] Turner, *Frontier*, p. 11.



Daily Missouri Democrat.

BY M'KEE, FISHBACK & CO. ST. LOUIS, FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 6, 1867 VOL. 16—NO. 14.

Fig 1.1: *Daily Missouri Democrat*, 6 Sept. 1867.



section as crumbling, and thinks it
ry with it that section also, and that
ront is tending to fall by sections.
Chief himself had yesterday deci-
walls must come down, and the
ing question seemed to be as to the
ncing them. The desire was to take
f possible to save the out-stone work
ht that this might be accomplish-
ads suggest that the walls should
th light charges of powder, and the
at the ball would fall within the
vise the application of the appara-
cks," by which some of the stones
e so loosened that the whole mass
ap.
ms plain that were the front wall
southward, the buildings on the
he avenue would be destroyed.
however, are still tenanted, al-
d pedestrians are not permitted to
m.
portions of the walls of the Lin-
me into the street and some in-
olumns present a grand appear-
above the blackened ruins be-
ongly resemble the pictures that
ins in olden times. The south
st entire, is by some regarded
may not fall unless blown down
The rest of the walls are clearly
firemen will hasten to tear them
ssible. An immense mass of
e ground, and wagons yesterday
auling away the broken bricks
ping them in Chouteau's pond.
and the stones are preserved.
streets opposite the house are
d by the rubbish, which is be-

beautified and made more magnificent by its firey ordeal.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S INDIAN EXPEDITION.

"ON THE WAR PATH,"

From St. Louis to Junction City—The Progress of Civilization—Missouri and Kansas—Their Future Destiny—Departure of Gen. Hancock's Expedition from Fort Riley.

[Correspondence Missouri Democrat.]

JUNCTION CITY, March 30th, 1867.

A little outline or sketch of our ride from St. Louis to Junction City, the terminus of the Union Pacific railroad, may not, perhaps, be unacceptable, especially as the route is one which all intending to emigrate to the far West will have to take. Leaving St. Louis, the Western metropolis, by the Pacific railroad's morning express, we were whirled away at a delightful rate of speed, passing stately and elegant mansions, neat villas, dainty little cottages, busy towns and villages, and comfortable farm houses in rapid review.

Now we rattled over a bridge, built over a creek, turbid stream, or stately river. Anon, we dashed through a tunnel, and then emerged into the light of day to see different and ever changing scenery. All along the route are evidences of the wealth, enterprise, skill, thrift, industry, and the religion of the inhabitants. Grist mills, saw mills, stores, manufactories, academies and churches are numerous. At the small depots congregate crowds of well

who has lately resigned his office on tha
go ahead," for the road was clear, n
was on the track. After satisfying hi
had not misunderstood the order, he l
mit on a steep down-grade, and, in
sharp curve, came on a train that was s
same grade under full head of steam.
he whistled down the brakes and reve
gine. The noble thing, under such a
strain, as if fully aware of the danger,
threw itself back to avert the catastro
while the other engineer had done th
with his locomotive; but it was pos
modify the shock. Together rushed th
ing and reluctant giants, their joint w
than sixty tons, with the gathered
their following trains. They rose lik
animals in fight, standing on end, and
two splendid machines were a wreck.
bind them were also badly crushed.
not leap from his engine; but, neve
hands from the levers which controlle
as resolute as a rock at his post un
came, and then, quick as thought,
valves to allow the steam to escape w
plosion. Our war can furnish no ol
the finest courage than that.
At the crossing of the Morris and
and Orange turnpike may be seen a
one leg. The other he lost in the wre
described. Had he had Orsbone's
danger, he would have escaped also
fellow! the man who issued the presu
der that day tried to buy him off fro
the company for the sum of one hun
an offer which poor Bob's wife met w
"Mr. —, would you sell one of your
dred dollars?"
During the war an incident occurre
sylvania Central, which was related
eye-witness. My informant was
of soldiers going from Pittsburg to
special train. Between Johnstown
they were delayed by a freight train
a part of its cars off. This they le
the stations, and remained there un
be informed that the track was clear
night, and most of the thousand m
were asleep, unconscious of their
heavily loaded coal-cars belongin
ahead had, by accident, become de
gan the descent of a heavy grade at
soon became terrible. The engines

Fig. 1.2: One of Stanley's despatches from the Hancock Campaign. *Weekly Missouri Democrat*, 9 April 1867.

2

'FLESH OF YOUR FLESH, BONE OF YOUR BONE'

HOW I FOUND LIVINGSTONE AS SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

2.1 Moving Narratives

Following the success of his reports on the Abyssinian campaign, Stanley secured a role as a *Herald* special correspondent to Europe. In October 1869 he was in Madrid – reporting the aftermath of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1868, in which Queen Isabella II had been deposed by a group of liberal generals – when he received a telegram from Bennett summoning him immediately to Paris.[1] The next evening Stanley arrived to find his editor propped up in bed at his suite in the Grand Hotel. Stanley later described the meeting in snappy dialogue form, with Bennett barraging the young correspondent with questions and repeated entreaties to 'FIND LIVINGSTONE!' (*HIFL* 2). The route Bennett charts out for Stanley is, however, deliberately circuitous. The correspondent's immediate task is not to effect the urgent rescue of the stranded missionary in Central Africa; it is to generate lucrative and original copy.

> I wish you to go to the inauguration of the Suez Canal first, and then proceed up the Nile. I hear Baker is about starting for Upper Egypt. Find out what you can about his expedition, and as you go up describe as well as possible whatever is interesting for tourists [. . .] you might as well go to Jerusalem [. . .]. Then visit Constantinople, and find out about that trouble between the Khedive and the Sultan [. . .] you might as well visit the Crimea and those old battle-grounds, Then go across the Caucasus to the Caspian Sea; I hear there is a Russian expedition bound for Khiva. From thence you may get through Persia to India; you could write an interesting letter from Persepolis [. . .] Bagdad [*sic*] will be close on your way to India; suppose you go there, and write up something about the Euphrates Valley Railway. Then, when you have come to India, you can go after Livingstone. (*HIFL* 3)

[1] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 90-91.

Bennett's expansive programme re-imagines the African-Eurasian land mass on the scale of a modern city, a space over which the journalist can flit back and forth in search of a story. In Bennett's telescopic imagination distances become insignificant; Baghdad is 'close on your way' to Bombay; if you go to Egypt, you 'might as well' take in Jerusalem. The casual tone with which Bennett directs his reporter to 'go across the Caucasus' mocks the ordeals and quests of the great 'Eastern travellers' of the previous generation. The 'Orient' is re-invented as an infrastructural web of canals, telegraphs, railways and shipping roots: the playground of European 'tourists' and the commutable workplace of the Western journalist. Stanley followed Bennett's orders to the letter. He witnessed the opening of the Suez Canal; he followed the wires of the Anglo-Indian telegraph across Persia; he rode the new railway along the Euphrates.[2] His detailed commission is also an apprenticeship in various modes of travel and genres of travel writing. He begins by reporting on the expeditions of another African explorer, Sir Samuel Baker; then he 'writes up' various locales and events, before penning a 'guide' on 'whatever is worth seeing' in Egypt. Only after he has completed these tasks can he embark on his own exploratory expedition into the unmapped African interior. Stanley must pass through the ranks of 'tourist' and 'commercial traveller' before he can convincingly perform the role of explorer.

Stanley finally arrived at Zanzibar fifteen months after receiving his briefing, in January 1871, and began to prepare his expedition by recruiting the small army of African, Arab and South Asian porters, guides and translators that made up the bulk of his caravan. After a seven-month march from Bagamayo, a coastal town near modern Dar-es-Salaam, the 'New York Herald Expedition' finally located Livingstone at the Arab trading settlement of Ujiji on the shores of Lake Tanganyika on 10 November 1871. Although Stanley's famously laconic greeting to Livingstone has since become emblematic of the Anglo-Saxon 'stiff upper-lip', the passage which precedes it in Stanley's account is taken up with the explorer's description of his turbulent feelings. As he approaches the lake he describes his excitement: he struggles to take in the details of his surroundings. He is, he says, 'almost overpowered with [. . .] emotions' (*HIFL* 407):

> [What] would I not have given for a bit of friendly wilderness, where, unseen, I might vent my joy in some mad freak, such as idiotically biting my hand; turning a somersault, or slashing at trees, in order to allay those exciting feelings that were well-nigh uncontrollable. My heart beats fast, but I must not let my face betray my emotions, lest it shall detract from

[2] The letters written during this period were re-edited, collected, and published in 1895 as Volume II of *ET*.

> the dignity of a white man appearing under such extraordinary circumstances. So I did that which I thought was most dignified. I pushed back the crowds, and, passing from the rear, walked down a living avenue of people, until I came in front of the semicircle of Arabs, before which stood the white man with the grey beard…I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob—would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me; so I did what moral cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said:
>
> 'Dr. Livingstone, I presume?' (*HIFL* 411-412)

In the last three decades, exploration accounts have been read as textual archives of ethnographic, topographic, and geographic information, which also perform a related ideological function as legitimising mythologies for colonial rule. In addition, these texts have also been read as self-validating expressions of the explorer's own privileged position (his/her ability to 'know' the other) or – more radically – his/her ability to travel and thus break away from social mores and constraints of the domestic or professional sphere.[3] As Rachel Ablow has recently suggested, however, 'in the mid- to late nineteenth century, reading was commonly regarded as at least as valuable as an affective experience as it was as a way to convey information or increase understanding'.[4] D. H. Lawrence would later caricature the vicarious consumer of tales of misery as 'an old maid having muffins for tea in the lamplight and reading *Stanley in Africa*' but Lawrence's joke masks a serious point: literary accounts of African exploration were as much sentimental journeys as 'boy's own' adventures or ethnographic textbooks.[5] In Stanley's narratives, the reader is continually invited to identify and sympathise with the toils and tribulations of the hero, his feverish reveries, his aching feet, his pangs of hunger and his feelings of isolation and dejection. Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone* (1872) was eagerly consumed as a violent and thrilling adventure story, but it also owes much of its popularity to the author's vivid rendering of homosocial desire, filial affection, and personal grief. I am not suggesting that a reader's sentimental investment in a narrative counteracts the ideological function of the text; far

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[3] For a reading of HIFL as an 'assertion'of Stanley's self-forged identity see Tim Youngs, '"My Footsteps on these Pages": The Inscription of Self and Race in H. M. Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone'*, *Prose Studies*, 13 (1990), 230-249.

[4] Rachel Ablow, *The Feeling of Reading: Affective Experience and Victorian Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2010), p. 2.

[5] D. H. Lawrence to Lady Cynthia Asquith, [25] November 1913. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by James T. Boulton and George J. Zytaruk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), vol. II, p. 107. There are several books that bear the title *Stanley in Africa*, including J. P. Boyd, *Stanley in Africa: The Wonderful Discoveries and Thrilling Adventures of the Great African Explorer* (Toronto: Rose, 1889) and Allen Howard Godbey, *Stanley in Africa: The Paladin of the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 1889).

from it. The reader inevitably becomes more receptive to the full import of an author's *message* if they are willing to *feel* – or at least acknowledge – the emotions with which the author's convictions are expressed.

In *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (published in the same year as Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*) Charles Darwin argues for the universality of specific physiological reactions *to* and the physical expression *of* emotion. Much of Darwin's evidence is collated from the observations of British travellers and scientists in the colonies and abroad (including the African explorers Winwood Reade, Tristram Speedy and Richard Burton). From the evidence provided by this patchwork of (often anecdotal) ethnographic 'data', Darwin concludes that emotional expressions are universal evolutionary traits, which transcend boundaries of race and nationality.[6] However, over and against his universalising argument, he also reserves the right to draw subtle distinctions between the races with respect to the force and frequency of emotional expression. For a man to weep in pain is almost universally regarded as 'weak and unmanly'; however, 'savages' are known to 'weep copiously from very slight causes.' Darwin even detected a racial spectrum of the emotions within Europe: 'Englishmen rarely cry, except under the pressure of the acutest grief; whereas in some parts of the Continent the men shed tears much more readily and freely.'[7] For Darwin, emotional expressions are the vestiges of 'serviceable associated habits'. Once useful as animal defences against the outside world, these atavistic tics reveal 'that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition'.[8] The less vociferously we vent our emotions, the further we have progressed from our bestial origins. The difficult task of the civilised man is to thread the affective tightrope between healthy sociability and unmanly hysteria.

Much like the drama of 'progress' played out at the American frontier, such parables of emotional indulgence and restraint are most vividly enacted at the colonial margin. As James Eli Adams points out, the imperial periphery is the ideal place to define masculine gender roles precisely *because* it is beyond the social strictures of the Victorian metropole.

> Because both political economy and economic manhood demand an incessant mastery of temptation, their ascetic regimen may be represented most suggestively in imaginary realms apparently remote from its influence. The periphery of Victorian empire is an especially

[6] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London: John Murray, 1872), pp. 22, 261, 279, 285.
[7] Ibid., pp. 154-55.
[8] Ibid., pp. 28, 12.

> appropriate space in which to imagine the strength of Victorian discipline, precisely because it is so attractive as an imagined realm of self-indulgence.[9]

The performance of masculine restraint is only really meaningful once there is a risk of 'going native'. Stanley's description of his turbulent feelings on meeting Livingstone is remarkably consistent with Darwin's notion of involuntary somatic upheaval. Emotion is a physiological force ('My heart beats fast') a force which is 'well nigh uncontrollable' and threatens to assert itself through animalistic violence: a 'mad freak' of slashing and biting. In terms of Darwin's spectrum of emotional susceptibility, he is in danger of 'going native'. As Marianna Torgovnick suggests in her reading of the scene, his uncontrollable feelings risk making him appear 'as wild as the landscape he has passed through – childlike, irrational, dangerous, like the Africans themselves in Western conceptions of them'.[10] Prior to his arrival at Ujiji, Stanley had entertained rumours that Livingstone had himself lapsed into some form of Kurtzian excess: 'privately men whispered strange things of him [. . .] that he had married an African princess, and was comfortably domiciled in Africa [. . .] that he was something of a misanthrope, and would take care to maintain a discreet distance from any European who might be tempted to visit him' (*IDA* 2: 208-9). As Clare Pettitt has suggested, part 'of Stanley's task when he arrived at Ujiji was going to be to assess how far Livingstone had "gone native" and how far he still belonged to his own culture'.[11] But as James Buzard points out, this is all part of the attraction of imperial adventures and tales of exploration: the drama relies on the possibility 'that a frontier willingly but temporarily breached might vanish completely, stranding the explorer in the Other's place'.[12] The triumph of Stanley's narrative is that, when he finally does meet Livingstone, he discovers neither an arrogant and self-obsessed misanthrope nor a lapsed demi-savage but a suitably sober, chaste and genial Protestant missionary; in short, a figure who has remained faithful to the 'ascetic regimen' of British imperial masculinity despite his surroundings.

There has been much critical attention paid to the phenomenon of supposedly civilised explorers and colonists indulging in irrational, hysterical and even savage behaviour in the moral vacuum of the unmapped wilderness. Johannes Fabian has

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[9] James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 111.
[10] Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 30.
[11] Clare Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), p. 85.
[12] James Buzard, *Disorientating Fiction: The Autoethnographic Work of Nineteenth-Century British Novels* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 10.

suggested that the gruelling physical ordeal of Central African exploration, combined with the high doses of drugs consumed in an effort to stave off tropical diseases – including laudanum, arsenic and quinine – meant 'that European travellers seldom met their hosts in a state we would expect of scientific explorers: clear minded and self-controlled.' More often than not, the explorer's ostensibly objective ethnographic or geographical account is coloured by 'extreme fatigue, fear, delusions of grandeur, and feeling ranging from anger to contempt.'[13] Fabian's point, that literary accounts of exploration (and in particular those based on field journals) are often coloured by emotion, is undoubtedly correct. The range of feelings which interest him ('anger to contempt') are, however, curiously narrow. This emphasis on anger, fear and loathing is indicative of a wider elision in literary and historical studies of exploration. When critics have focused on the affective and embodied aspects of exploration, they have tended to concentrate on characters in the vein of Conrad's Kurtz, who, having freed themselves from the binds of Western morality, engage in uncharacteristically 'savage' acts of sex or violence.[14] But what of another form of 'savage' expression? What of the sentimental excesses, hysterical fits, and floods of tears which were supposedly common among the lesser races but anathema to the Victorian ideal of stoic manliness?

Although Victorian masculinities have received plenty of attention in the last two decades, until recently the focus has been on a supposed 'crisis' in masculinity precipitated by two major socio-historical developments: first, what Foucault terms the 'invention of the homosexual' and its consequent challenge to the culture of manly sociability; and second, the movement for gender equality, the rise of New Woman and the increasing erosion of patriarchal authority.[15] When the issues of emotion, sympathy and sentiment have been raised at all, it has generally been to highlight rather anxious responses of hetero-normative male subjects to the effeminising powers of unrestrained sentimentality. The

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[13] Johannes Fabian, *Out of our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 3.

[14] Examples which mention Stanley and use *Heart of Darkness* as the emblematic parable of 'going native' include Torgovnick, pp. 22-33, 141-158; Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 182-207.

[15] This critical trend begins with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's influential study *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), which traces a transition from comfortable depictions manly sociability and homosocial desire in the eighteenth century to an anxious and paranoid culture of 'homosexual panic' at the fin de siècle. Some important studies of imperial masculinities include: Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins, 1991); Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997); David Alderton, *Mansex Fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); and Andrew Michael Roberts, *Conrad and Masculinity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).

potentially 'effeminising' powers of sentimental indulgence *are* a feature of Stanley's exploration texts but, on the whole, Stanley foregrounds his emotions in a way that suggests something more than mere authorial 'anxiety'. In this chapter I argue that Stanley's concern with sentimental expression and the potentially 'unmanning' powers of emotion are all part of his rhetoric of 'manly' feeling. Such rhetoric was not always a hysterical defence against the feminising powers of sentiment; it was often part of a peculiarly modern brand of sentimentalism. The explorer's devotion to an Anglo-Saxon ideal of emotional propriety is dramatised in the play between two Stanleys: the expressive author and the repressed protagonist. The protagonist's battle to resist the 'unmanning' powers of sentiment becomes bathetic role-play, a sentimental ploy that gives the narrative its affective power. Although Stanley's emphasis on feeling is not in itself particularly 'modern', his uses of sentiment are. In *How I Found Livingstone* the political ideals of empire and civilisation are intertwined with the structures of this new brand of manly feeling. Stanley uses the 'peripheral' space of Central Africa (and the sentimental appeal of the imperial 'apostle' Livingstone) to delineate a mode of 'Anglo-Saxon' manliness that responds to specific political and social problems in Britain and America, before ultimately gesturing towards the strategies and ideologies of a new democratic and transnational mode of 'Anglo-Saxon' empire.

2.2 Representative Men

As Stanley later admitted, his famous greeting to Livingstone was a self-conscious attempt to imitate the aristocratic nonchalance of the British gentleman traveller (*HIFL* xx). In *How I Found Livingstone*, the episode is glossed by a cursory footnote, directing the reader to a famous passage in Alexander Kinglake's popular travelogue *Eothen, or Traces of travel brought home from the East* (1844). In the passage cited, Kinglake is leading his retinue of servants across the Sinai Desert when he suddenly spots a fellow Englishman approaching from the opposite direction at the head of a similar caravan:

> As we approached each other it became with me a question whether we should speak. I thought it likely that the stranger would accost me, and in the event of his doing so I was quite ready to be as sociable and chatty as I could be according to my nature; but still I could not think of anything particular that I had to say to him. Of course, among civilised people the not having anything to say is no excuse at all for not speaking, but I was shy and

> indolent, and I felt no great wish to stop and talk like a morning visitor in the midst of those broad solitudes. The traveller perhaps felt as I did, for except that we lifted our hands to our caps and waved our arms in courtesy, we passed each other as if we had passed in Bond Street.[16]

Although the intended effect of Stanley's urbane greeting to Livingstone was something approaching Kinglakian blasé, this was, as we have seen, a calculated act of dissimulation, an attempt to mask his 'well-nigh uncontrollable' emotions.[17] Despite his best efforts to ape gentlemanly insouciance, contemporary British readers found Stanley's behaviour at Ujiji hilarious rather than dignified. The American's performance of the stiff-upper lip, was seen by many in England as an absurd parody of British restraint, with the *Pall Mall Gazette* describing Stanley's despatch as 'one of the most comical things of its kind ever penned'.[18] Modern readers of the Stanley and Livingstone encounter seem less likely to find it funny; perhaps because it seems to fit so well with our stereotypical preconception of Victorian manliness. But as we see from the mocking of contemporary readers, the Victorians did not take their archetypes of imperial masculinity as seriously as we might think; perhaps they were more willing than ourselves to see manly emotional reticence as a hollow, and ultimately laughable, performance.

How I Found Livingstone dramatises Stanley's continual struggle to aspire to this Anglo-Saxon ideal of emotional propriety but it also reflects a contemporary concern with transatlantic sociability – embodied in the characters of Stanley, the impetuous but determined Yankee, and Livingstone, the stoical and pious Scot.[19] For the chapter which records the men's first colloquy, Stanley makes unprecedented use of a literary epigram.

> If there is love between us, inconceivably delicious and profitable will our intercourse be; if not, your time is lost, and you will only annoy me. I shall seem to you stupid, and the reputation I have, false. Quite above us, beyond the will of you or me, is this secret affinity

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[16] Henry Morton Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone in Central Africa* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1872), p. 411. This reference to Kinglake is cut from the 1874 (Sampson Low) edition and all subsequent editions. The passage originally appears (with slightly different punctuation) in Alexander W. Kinglake, *Eōthen, or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (London: John Ollivier, 1844), p. 266.

[17] In August 1872, while much of the geographical establishment were still incredulous of Stanley's claim to have 'found' Livingstone, Kinglake wrote to Stanley to congratulate him on his successful expedition. A. W. Kinglake to Stanley, 14 Aug. 1872. RMCA, MS 2716. Later Kinglake would again praise 'the almost romantic fealty' of Stanley's quest in an incongruous footnote to his *Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, sixth edition (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1883), vol. VII, pp. 205-6, 449.

[18] 'Stanley in Africa', *Pall Mall Gazette,* 3 July 1872, p. 5. For more comic reactions to this incident see Ian Anstruther, *I Presume: H. M. Stanley's Triumph and Disaster* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), p. 146.

[19] Clare Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), p. 88.

> or repulsion laid. All my good is magnetic, and I educate, not by lessons, but by going about my business. (*HIFL* 420)

This motto of manly sociability is plucked from Emerson's lecture 'Plato; or, the Philosopher'. The speaker is Socrates, explaining his pedagogical approach to his pupil Plato.[20] The essay is part of Emerson's lecture series *Representative Men* (1850), a collection of illustrative mini-biographies modelled on Carlyle's *On Heroes and Hero Worship* (1841). Stanley emphasizes the theme of transatlantic sociability by associating Livingstone and himself with an earlier Scottish sage and his American protégé. In fact, the epigram invites us to read Stanley and Livingstone's friendship against a long tradition of mentor/pupil relationships of which Socrates and Plato, and Carlyle and Emerson, are merely 'representative men'. Throughout *How I Found Livingstone* Stanley continually strives for an Anglo-Saxon ideal of masculinity (or 'manliness' as he terms it), derived from Carlyle and Emerson among others, which rests on a few major tenets: bodily vigour, enthusiasm for work, uncomplicated Protestant spirituality and a broad capacity for sympathy.

Despite the predictions of even Livingstone's closest allies that the misanthropic missionary would run a mile at the approach of another white man, Stanley was happy to report that Livingstone 'is not such a niggard and misanthrope as I was led to believe. He exhibited considerable emotion despite the monosyllabic greeting, when he shook my hand' (*HIFL* 341). Insistently casting Livingstone as the ideal of Emersonian sociability, Stanley describes the Doctor as 'the most companionable of men and indulgent of masters – a man whose society is pleasurable' (*HIFL* 351). Indeed, at times, Stanley would observe Livingstone indulging in excessive displays of emotion: 'I was not sure, at first but this joviality, humour, and abundant animal spirits were the result of a joyous hysteria; but as I found they continued while I was with him, I am obliged to call them natural' (*HIFL* 433). Stanley diagnoses Livingstone's emotional outbursts as a possible case of hysteria – a significantly feminine condition – before reluctantly accepting his 'animal spirits' as 'natural'.[21]

Attempting to gloss over the problems of emotional intercourse between British and American men, Stanley stresses the cultural and racial links between the two nations. His

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[20] Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Representative Men' (1850) in *Essays and Lectures*, ed. by Joel Porte (New York: Library of America, 1983), p. 647-48. Emerson is paraphrasing the character of Socrates in Plato's dialogue *Theages* (130 E).

[21] On the gender politics of hysteria see Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Penguin, 1987) and Mark S. Micale, *Hysterical Men: the Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

fears about how the taciturn Scot would react to being 'rescued' by a Yankee journalist prove unfounded. He does not 'mind my nationality' records Stanley:

> . . . for 'here,' said [Livingstone], 'Americans and Englishmen are the same people. We speak the same language and have the same ideas.' Just so, Doctor; I agree with you. Here at least, Americans and Englishmen shall be brothers, and, whatever I can do for you, you may command me as freely as if I were flesh of your flesh, bone of your bone (*HIFL* 422).

Just as Stanley had earlier added to the emotive effect of the initial meeting by emphasising the anomaly of two white men surrounded by a curious circle of Arabs and Africans, he portrays the meeting of the 'Englishman' and 'American' as the union of two estranged Anglo-Saxon siblings. Stanley's language, however, suggests something even more intimate than brotherhood. The reference to a union flesh and bone paraphrases Adam's address to the Lord after the creation of Eve: 'This [is] now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man' (Gen. 2: 23). We could interpret this slippage between *philia* and *eros* in the tradition of Eve Sedgwick and other gender theorists, by reading Stanley's relationship with Livingstone as existing on a 'homosocial continuum' uniting manly sociability with homosexual desire. Indeed the passage was a popular reading at weddings and thus clearly associated with nuptial affection. This may have caused some discomfort to either Stanley, his readers, or his editors, as the Biblical allusion to flesh and bone was cut from later editions.[22] Stanley resorts to similar imagery in his description of his joint mission to explore Lake Tanganyika with Livingstone. The two canoes race across the lake; Stanley's boat flies the Stars and Stripes, Livingstone's the Union Jack (Fig. 2.1):

> The flags of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations rippled and played in the soft breeze, sometimes drawing near caressingly together, again bending away, like two lovers coy to unite. The tight little boat of the Doctor would keep ahead, and the crimson and crossed flag of England would wave before me, and it seemed to say to the beautiful laggard astern, 'Come on, come on; England leads the way.' (*HIFL* 445)

[22] On homosexual desire in Stanley's works see Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2003), 36-47. Stanley's biographer Frank McGlynn places considerable emphasis on Stanley's ambivalent sexuality (vol. I, pp. 36, 65). Tim Jeal, on the other hand, rubbishes this approach and unconvincingly attempts to cast Stanley as a virile ladies' man throughout his account (*Stanley*, passim).

Here again, Stanley is in danger of loading on the transatlantic sympathy a little too heavily and crossing the line between manly sympathy and blatant eroticism. However, in both these instances, he is more likely to be clumsily gesturing towards a figurative marriage between two Anglo-Saxon nations: England the dutiful bridegroom and America the blushing bride. Indeed, Stanley's trope of the political marriage has contemporary analogues. A broadside print published to commemorate the laying of the short-lived transatlantic telegraph cable of 1858 represents transatlantic sociability through the allegorical reconciliation of two estranged family members: Uncle John (England) and his nephew Jonathan (America). John and Jonathan cordially shake hands across the Atlantic in a pose which mirrors later depictions of the Stanley and Livingstone encounter (Fig. 2.2 and 2.3). 'Glad to grasp your hand, uncle John!' exclaims the youthful Jonathan, 'I almost feel like calling you Father, and will if you improve upon acquaintance! May the feeling of Friendship which comes from my heart, and tingles to the very end of my fingers, be like the electric current which now unites our lands, and links our destiny with yours!' His more mature and rotund English relative responds with equal enthusiasm: 'Happy to see and greet you, Jonathan! You feel like "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh!" You have grown to be a tall and sturdy man [. . .] We won't think of quarrelling anymore.' [23]

As Uncle's John's reference to past 'quarrels' makes clear, the Anglo-Saxon brotherhood was built on the wilful suppression of certain political realities. As Stanley explains to Livingstone:

> I see that the Arabs are wondering that you, an Englishman, and I, an American, understand each other. We must take care not to tell them that the English and Americans have fought, and that there are Alabama claims left unsettled, and that we have such people as Fenians in America, who hate you. (*HIFL* 422-23).

America was known to be a safe-haven for militant Irish nationalists, and New York-based 'Fenian' conspirators had launched attacks on British territory in Canada in 1866 and 1867. Fenians had also been very active in both Britain and Ireland in the year or so before Stanley's expedition: in March 1867 there was a short-lived Fenian rising in the South of Ireland; the summer of 1867 saw violent riots between Protestants and Catholics in Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Oldham; in September 1867 a policemen was shot

[23] Kipling sets up a similar dialogue between Mother England and her sons (various colonial cities) in 'A Song of the English' (1896). England's 'answer' to her colonies includes the lines: 'Flesh of the flesh that I bred, bone of the bone that I bare; / Stark as your sons shall be – stern as your fathers were'. 'Song of the English' in *The Seven Seas* (New York: Appleton, 1896), p. 15.

during an attempt to free two Irish prisoners in Manchester; and in December of the same year an attempt to free the Fenian leader Ricard O' Sullivan Burke from Clerkenwell prison resulted in an explosion which killed fifteen local residents and injured more than 40 people.[24] Jonathon Gantt suggests that these events were popularly interpreted along racial lines, as the 'Anglo-Saxon found this an unacceptable stratagem of war [. . .] and a reaffirmation of Celtic barbarism'.[25]

Stanley's Anglo-Saxon identity, constructed in opposition to the divisive violence of Fenianism, is broadly in line with John Stuart Mill's definition of a nation as a 'portion of mankind [. . .] united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others'.[26] The Anglo-Saxon (transnational, Protestant and progressively liberal) is deliberately contrasted with the Fenian Celt (tribal, Catholic, and violently sectarian).[27] Anthony Trollope's 1869 novel *Phineas Finn*, which offers a decidedly less histrionic reflection on the contemporary politics and the spectres of 'Fenianism, Ribandmen, and Repeal', tells the story of the rise of a middle-class Irish Catholic through the ranks of the ruling Liberal party.[28] In conversation with Phineas, the radical Liberal Mr. Monk characterises England's responsibilities towards Ireland in terms of the duties owed by a husband to his spouse. It is necessary, argues Monk, 'to England's character that the bride thus bound in a compulsory wedlock should be endowed with all the best privileges that a wife can enjoy. Let her at least not be a kept mistress. *Let it be bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh*, if we are to live together in the married state' [my emphasis].[29] As Monk makes clear, the spiritual union between transatlantic Anglo-Saxons was problematised by both the rise of Irish nationalism and Britain's own reputation as a perpetrator of 'domestic violence.'

Significantly, Stanley's other topical reference, to the unsettled 'Alabama claims,' raises one of the major stumbling blocks to contemporary Anglo-American relations: the 'claims' were reparations claimed by the US for the sale of British warships to the

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[24] Patrick Quinlivan and Paul Rose, *The Fenians in England, 1865-1872* (London: John Calder, 1982), pp. 33-94; John Newsinger, *Fenianism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1994), pp. 40-65. For popular literary responses to Fenian activity see Luke Gibbons, *Gaelic Gothic: Race, Colonization, and Irish Culture* (Galway: Arlen House, 2004), pp. 61-76.
[25] Jonathan Gantt, *Irish Terrorism in the Atlantic Community, 1865-1922* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), p. 47.
[26] John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (New York: Harper, 1862), p. 308.
[27] Linda Colley has argued that, ever since the eighteenth century, British identity has been constructed in opposition to the European Catholic Other. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (1992; repr. Yale: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 6.
[28] The Ribandmen or Ribbon Men were a secret society of agrarian Catholic home-rule agitators. The act to be 'repealed' is the Act of Union of 1801, which abolished the Irish parliament at Dublin.
[29] Anthony Trollope, *Phineas Finn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), vol. II, 180. This chapter first appeared in *St. Paul's Magazine*, 3 (1869), 486-502.

Confederate government during the American Civil War – an act which the Federal government claimed was a violation of Britain's declared neutrality.[30] From 1868 to 1872 – when a payment of $15.5 million was reluctantly paid – the story dominated the newspapers and reviews and often provoked combative language and vociferous debate.[31] Indeed, many commentators saw the 'Alabama' controversy and the Fenian problem as related issues. Fenianism had been consolidated and formalised in the Irish-American brigades of the Union Army, and so, for many – including the American Secretary of State William Seward – attacks on Britain and Canada by American-based Fenians were just deserts for Britain's surreptitious support for the Confederacy.[32] 'If the Americans don't embroil us in war before long it will not be their fault', wrote an anxious Charles Dickens in November 1865, 'what with their claims of indemnification, what with Ireland and Fenianism'.[33]

For the liberal journalist and historian W. F. Rae, writing in the *Westminster Review* in January 1870, this was a lamentable case of failure to communicate. Like Stanley, Rae had been a transatlantic correspondent, reporting on America and Canada for the *Daily News*, and he shared Stanley's conviction that America and Britain could be reconciled through the power of Anglo-Saxon sympathy. As far as Rae was concerned, the Alabama crisis was the result of 'mutual misunderstanding'[34] In Rae's utopian vision, political difference will be obviated through a renewed emphasis on bonds of sympathy and race. Laying the blame firmly at the door of the hypocrisy of the 'English governing classes' and their ambivalent attitude to American slavery, Rae anticipates a more democratic age when

> [United] in sentiment as in blood, these kindred and powerful nations might contribute what is lacking to the political regeneration of the world. Their joint precept and example would hasten the advent of that golden age when the nations of the earth, acknowledging the

[30] The CSS *Alabama* was a British warship built at Birkenhead and sold to the Confederate navy in defiance of Union protests. The ship caused significant damage to the fleet of the American Merchant Navy. Douglas Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 230-32.
[31] See for example John Baker Hopkins, 'America v. England', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 8 (1872), 185-193 and Thomas G. Bowles, 'The Unsettlement of the Alabama Claims', *Fraser's Magazine*, 5 (1872), 768-81.
[32] Quinlivan and Rose, p. 6.
[33] Charles Dickens to W. W. F. Cerjat, 30 Nov. 1865. Quoted in Grace Moore, *Dickens and Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 164. In the same letter Dickens complains about Liberal 'sympathy with the black' during the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and also rails against 'missionaries, who (Livingstone always excepted) are perfect nuisances, and leave every place worse than they found it'.
[34] W. F. Rae, 'American Claims on England', *Westminster Review*, 37 (1870), 211-234 (pp. 211, 218); *DNB*.

> brotherhood of man, shall be as willing and ready to teach and aid as they have been to traduce and harm one another.[35]

But in Stanley's portrayal of his encounter with Livingstone then, he self-consciously enacts both the problems and the potential resolution to transatlantic conflict. It is precisely in Rae's terms (sentiment and blood) that Stanley characterises his bond with Livingstone – and by implication the bond between American and Briton. But within both Stanley and Rae's liberalism lurks a transparent imperial agenda. Rae concludes his essay with an appeal for cooperation: both nations must acknowledge their 'identical' interests in the West Indies and the East; the aim will be to pursue 'a policy of mutual advantage rather than persisting in a course of mutual hostility'. [36] The possibilities of one such 'policy of mutual advantage' is clearly symbolised in the triumphant image of Stanley and Livingstone's canoes bedecked with the rippling standards of 'two great Anglo-Saxon nations' exploring an African lake.[37]

Gordon Bennett himself cared little for Anglo-American amicability and took every opportunity to goad his London rivals over the fact that it took a Yankee journalist to 'find' the great British explorer.[38] Yet Stanley was delighted to report to his American readers that the missionary was ahead of the game in cementing the post-war Anglo-American relationship. Livingstone entertained the younger man by reciting 'whole poems' from a diplomatically sensitive Anglo-American canon of 'Byron, Burns, Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell'.[39] Livingstone's fondness for the American 'fireside poets', again reflected the affective bonds between Britain and America. Longfellow, Whittier and Lowell had all written abolitionist poems, and were popular among Protestant evangelicals and anti-slavery campaigners in Britain. On one of his exploratory excursions west of

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[35] Rae, p. 234. Much later in his career, Stanley would again become preoccupied with a transatlantic dispute. In January 1896 he contributed an article to the *Nineteenth Century*, warning of escalating tensions over the disputed frontier between Venezuela and British Guyana. Stanley suggested that any agonistic military actions by British or American forces would constitute 'fratricide' and expressed his hope that the 'points in dispute should be settled amicably, rather than by the ruin of the Anglo-Saxon race'. H. M. Stanley, 'The Issue between Great Britain and America', *Nineteenth Century*, 39 (1896), 1-6 (p. 6).

[36] Rae, p. 233.

[37] For more on Anglo-American imperialism and the cult of the Anglo-Saxon see Paul Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and American Empires, 1880-1910', *Journal of American History*, 88 (2002), 1315-53.

[38] McLynn, *Stanley*, p. 217.

[39] Two Englishmen, a Scot and three of the popular American 'fireside poets': Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), and James Russell Lowell (1817-1891). On the role of sentiment in anti-slavery literature see Christine Levecq, *Slavery and Sentiment: The Politics of Feeling in Black Atlantic Antislavery Writing, 1770-1850* (Lebanon NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008).

Tanganyika, when Livingstone heard tell of a previously unknown lake ('called by the natives Chebungo'), he promptly re-named it Lake Lincoln. As Stanley explains:

> This was done from the vivid impression produced on his mind by hearing a portion of [Lincoln's] inauguration speech read from an English pulpit, which related to the causes that induced him to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, by which memorable deed 4,000,000 of slaves were for ever freed. To the memory of a man whose labours on behalf of the negro race deserves the commendation of all good men, Livingstone has contributed a monument more durable than brass or stone. (*HIFL* 451)

In *Missionary Travels* (1857), Livingstone had himself stated that it was 'on the Anglo-American race that the hope of the world for liberty and progress [rested]' and he had long argued that slavery was a transatlantic issue, provoked not only by the greed of American agriculturalists but by the British demand for cheap cotton.[40] Ironically, Livingstone's great monument to the assassinated president and liberator of the slaves proved ephemeral: Lake Lincoln was the product of mere speculation, rooted in the missionary's over-credulous reading of Herodotus.[41] Livingstone's own devotion to Lincoln was touched by personal loss: his son Robert, inspired by the abolitionist sentiments of his father, had fought and died for the Union cause during the Civil War.[42] Continuing this transatlantic traffic in anti-slavery sentiment, Livingstone wrote a series of letters detailing the horrors of the Arab-led slave trade in Central Africa, which Stanley had sent back to Bennett for publication in the *New York Herald*. Like the death of Lincoln, and the poetry of abolition, these texts also became a sentimental nexus for humanitarian and abolitionist feeling.[43] Although Stanley and Bennett's motivations for acquiring, publishing and disseminating Livingstone's letters were commercial rather than humanitarian, these documents nonetheless generated a powerful response and contributed to the abolition of slavery within the Sultanate of Zanzibar a year later.[44]

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[40] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper, 1857), p. 725. On the dependence of British mills on American cotton see Campbell, *English Public Opinion,* pp. 50-52.
[41] Tim Jeal, *Livingstone* (1973; repr. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 330-32.
[42] For more on Livingstone's attitudes to the War and to America in general see Pettitt, pp. 82-84. For British reactions to the assassination of Lincoln see R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Louisiana State University Press, 2001), pp. 213-44. Stanley does not disclose whether he discussed his own war record with Livingstone, which included service in (and desertions from) both the Confederate infantry and the Federal navy. Jeal, *Stanley*, pp. 48-56.
[43] The collaboration between Livingstone and the *Herald* was a somewhat unlikely alliance. Prior to the war, Bennett's predecessor (his father James Gordon Bennett, Snr.) had scoffed at abolitionists and openly criticised Lincoln. James L. Crouthamel, *Bennet's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), p. 142-54.
[44] Bennett, *Stanley's Despatches*, p. 483; Bridges, 'Europeans', p. 221.

2.3 Anglo-Saxon Chronicles

The effort to promote transatlantic amicability in the 1860s is best exemplified by the journalist, traveller and Liberal MP Charles Dilke. In 1868 Dilke coined the term 'Greater Britain' for the English-speaking world beyond the British Isles in his travel book of the same title. Like his Liberal contemporary Rae, Dilke offered a formulation of racial identity that 'subsumed or transcended class' and obviated the question of nationality.[45] The first volume of Dilke's travelogue dealt with America and covered much of the ground 'written-up' by Stanley a year before in his *Democrat* letters.[46] As in Stanley's contemporary accounts of the 'Red Indian', Dilke saw an inferior, degenerate race being pushed gradually westward and concluded, with chilling optimism, that the 'gradual extinction of the inferior races [was] not only a law of nature, but a blessing to mankind'.[47] Although Dilke's 'Sketches of Saxondom' painted a positive impression of what James Belich calls 'the Settler Revolution', his sketch of New York offers a clue as to the rather anxious Anglo-Saxonism of the *Herald* correspondent.[48] In the former Puritan strongholds of the North East, it was not 'Red Indians' but Protestant 'New Englanders' who were being pushed west by an irresistible tide of Celtic immigration.

> The Irish here are beating down the English, as the English have crushed the Dutch. The Hollander's descendents in New York are English now; it bids fair that the Saxons should be Irish [. . .] the Irish alone pour in unceasingly. All great American towns will soon be Celtic, while the country continues English: a fierce and easily roused people will throng the cities, while the law-abiding Saxons who till the land will cease to rule it. Our relations with

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[45] James Epstein, 'Taking Class Notes on Empire', in *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 251-274 (p. 274). On the contemporary reactions to Dilke and the idea of 'Greater Britain' see Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 12-20.

[46] Stanley's first speech in parliament was in response to Dilke (then sitting with the Liberal opposition). The former claims he was provoked to his feet by a desultory meandering speech, in which Dilke spoke of the foreign policy in Asia and Africa 'as though he was again about to set out on a tour through Greater Britain' (*A* 477).

[47] Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English Speaking Countries* (London: Macmillan, 1868), p. 130.

[48] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1780-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

> America are matters of small amount by the side of one great question: Who are our Americans to be?[49]

In such a climate of anxiety it is understandable that Stanley, arriving in London from New York in the pay of a newspaper with Fenian sympathies, should somewhat overstate his Anglo-Saxon credentials.[50] But Stanley had bigger problems than this. As far as his readers in the *Herald* and in the British Press were concerned, Stanley was an American; however, his sudden rise to fame in the aftermath of the Livingstone meeting led to a flurry of testimony from long-lost family members, acquaintances and old enemies. It soon emerged that Henry Stanley, the cheerleader for Anglo-Saxon fellowship, had been born John Rowlands an illegitimate child in a Welsh-speaking peasant community in Denbighshire and was, according to all contemporary theories of race, a verifiable Celt.

Stanley's Welshness raises the question of how racially prescriptive Anglo-Saxon identity was in this period. In his study of the history of the English 'national character', Peter Mandler argues that race was relatively insignificant to the definition of Englishness, even amidst the 'celebration of common "Teutonic" or Anglo-Saxon origins and corresponding character traits that reached a climax around the fateful year of 1867'.[51] Although a pseudoscientific vocabulary of race became increasingly popular in the mid-nineteenth century, it did not erase but rather overlaid 'Enlightenment traditions that had asserted a common humanity, linked by the rungs of a ladder rather than separated by the branches of a tree'. The Anglo-Saxon 'race', concludes Mandler was 'one you could join, as well as be born into'.[52]

Robert Young has, however, forcefully refuted Mandler's downplaying of race, suggesting that the Victorians were 'far more preoccupied with a complex elaboration of European racial differences and alliances than with what they perceived to be the relatively straightforward task of distinguishing between European and non-European races'.[53] As Young suggests, the 'independent, energetic, self-reliant, masculine and liberty-loving

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[49] Dilke, p. 44.

[50] Bennett's parents were both Catholics (his mother was Irish and his father Scottish) and he actively courted the sympathies of nationalist-minded Irish-Americans. One of the founders of *Clan-na-Gael*, a later incarnation of the Fenian movement, was Jerome Collins, the meteorological and science editor of the *Herald*. Gantt, *Irish Terrorism in the Atlantic Community* p. 131, 150. During the Irish land league crisis 1879-81, Gordon Bennett inaugurated a *New York Herald* Fund for the relief of Irish peasantry with a personal donation of $100,000. Norman Palmer, *The Irish land League Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 84, 98-101.

[51] Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 59.

[52] Mandler, p. 60.

[53] Robert J. C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), p. 13.

Saxon' and 'emotional, imaginative, feminine, and gregarious Celt' had been ubiquitous stereotypes since at least the 1840s, when they were formalised by a host of influential thinkers, including the historians and educators John Mitchell Kemble, Thomas Carlyle, and Thomas Arnold.[54]

In 1867, when Stanley was embarking on his first assignments as *Herald* correspondent, Thomas Arnold's son Matthew, then Oxford Professor of Poetry, published *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867). In it Arnold calls for the revival of a 'scientific' study of Celtic literature and suggests that both Britons and Americans need to 'moderate the flame of Anglo-Saxonism in their own breasts' with some of the 'delicacy and spirituality' of Celtic literature.[55] However, he nonetheless draws essential distinctions between Saxon and Celt, delineated in terms of sensibility and affect. The romantic Celt is inherently prone to self-indulgent emotional excess and moments of 'feminine idiosyncrasy'. He is 'undisciplinable, anarchical, and turbulent by nature' and displays 'just the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon temperament, disciplinable and steadily obedient within certain limits, but retaining an inalienable part of freedom and self-dependence'.[56] Arnold's generalisations were in accord with the psychologist Alexander Bain – probably the most influential pre-Darwinian theorist of the emotions – who had concluded in 1861 that the 'Celtic races in general – Irish, Welsh, Scotch Highlanders, French – are emotional in comparison with the Teutonic races'.[57] Indeed, contemporary accounts of the Celtic race had much in common with the standard accounts of savage aboriginals of America and Africa. When Matthew Arnold looked upon the modern Welsh in light of the glories of the ancient Cymric bards, he saw 'the shrunken and diminished remains of [a] great primitive race'.[58]

We can therefore read Stanley's battle with his emotions as occurring on two fronts: on one he must resist the hysterical atmosphere of Central Africa, while on the other he struggles to suppress his inner Celt in an heroic effort to perform Anglo-Saxon restraint. Despite the ubiquity of racialised models of identity, Young nonetheless argues that 'a singular racial identity for the English [. . .] derived loosely from history and philology' was gradually 'disproved by the emergence of a "proper" racial science which argued that the

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[54] Young, *English Ethnicity*, p. 45.
[55] Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1867), p. 177, vii.
[56] Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, p. 108-109.
[57] Alexander Bain, *On the Study of Character, including an Estimate of Phrenology* (London: Parker, Son and Bourn, 1861), p. 218.
[58] Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, p. 177.

English were irreducibly mixed'.[59] Mandler opts for 1867 as the *annus mirabilis* of 'Teuotomania', but Young argues that from the 1860s on racial science 'was used to disprove the racial exclusivism of Saxonism'.[60] Speaking at a public lecture in 1870, T. H. Huxley (to whom Stanley would later correspond and send zoological specimens) maintained that the complex history of migrations and invasions of the British Isles made a mockery of essentialised notions of Celt and Saxon. Politicised 'arguments about the difference between Anglo-Saxons and Celts are a mere sham and delusion', opined Huxley, for the 'native of Tipperary is just as much or as little an Anglo-Saxon as a native of Devonshire'.[61]

So how did Stanley identify himself racially? And how much credence did he lend to contemporary racial categorisations of Celt and Saxon? Although he may seem, on one level, to be a prime example of Mandler's self-invented Anglo-Saxon, he was also a keen observer of cultural and racial difference and was well-versed in the standard checklist of Celtic and Saxon characteristics. When Stanley took his seat in Parliament as a Liberal Unionist in 1895 he had ample opportunity to observe the distinctive physiognomies of the Irish members across the floor on the opposition benches.

> I have now learned to know all the most prominent among the Irish Members by sight. There is a marked difference in type between them and our Members. The Celtic, or Iberian, type affords such striking contrasts to the blonde, high-coloured Anglo-Saxon. There is the melancholy-looking John Dillon, who resembles a tall Italian or Spaniard; [...] 'Tay-Pay,' with hair dark as night, who, despite his London training, is still only a black-haired Celt; and many more singular types, strongly individualistic. (*A* 476)[62]

Stanley might well draw distinction between 'our Members' and the Celtic Irish, but as a Welshman he was always liable to be subjected to similar ethnographic scrutiny. Stanley's inmates at the St. Asaph's workhouse in Denbighshire were subjects of the notorious *Report into the State of Education in Wales* (1847), which condemned the persistence of the Welsh language among the peasant and labouring classes, and decried the moral, religious and sanitary standards of the Welsh population.[63] When the commissioners visited Stanley's

[59] Young, *English Ethnicity*, p. 45.
[60] Ibid., p. 125.
[61] 'Professor Huxley on Political Ethnology', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 Jan. 1870, p. 8-9.
[62] Stanley sat in the Government benches as part of Lord Salisbury's Conservative/Liberal-Unionist coalition. The Irish members in question are John Dillon (1851-1927), leader of the nationalist anti-Parnell faction and T. P. O' Connor (1848-1929), editor of the *Weekly Sun* and enthusiastic advocate of the New Journalism.
[63] Ian Anstruther, *I Presume: H. M. Stanley's Triumph and Disaster* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), pp. 9-11.

home county of Denbighshire they found that just over twenty percent of the population spoke English, that even relatively well-off farmers were illiterate and that boys generally left school to work in mines and farms from the age of eight.[64] The journalist and historian Sidney Low, in an obituary for Stanley, claimed that the explorer 'bore the characteristic traces of his Cymric origin. He had the Welsh peasant's quickness of temper, his warmth of affection, his resentfulness when wronged, his pugnacity, and his code of ethics, ultimately derived from John Calvin' (A 339). In later years Stanley would confront his Welsh identity in a more forthright manner. In the first chapter of his *Autobiography*, he offers a revealing sketch of the community into which he was born.

> Such families as were clustered in front of the Green of Denbigh Castle were an exceedingly primitive folk, with far less regard for ancient ancestry than the Bedouin of the Desert. Indeed, I doubt whether any tradesman or farmer in our parts could say who was his great-great-grandfather, or whether one yeoman out of a hundred could tell who was his ancestor of two hundred years back. As King Cazembe said to Livingstone . . . 'We let the streams run on, and do not enquire whence they rise or whither they go'. (*A* 4)

As Stanley explicitly compares the natives of Denbigh to Arabian Bedouin and the Africans of Kazembe, he projects the stereotype of the temporally-other aboriginal onto the historically ignorant natives of North Wales. Elsewhere, he uses the vocabulary of modern ethnography to describe his childhood belief 'in signs, omens, auguries, and fetishism, transmitted to [him] by foolish peasants from [his] tattooed ancestors' (*A* 36). The rigid binaries which supposedly maintain colonial discourse and Stanley's own sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority are destabilised, as the lines between coloniser and colonised, civilizer and savage are blurred. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts argues that despite a glut of spirited defences of Welsh culture and language in the aftermath of the *State of Education* report, Welsh cultural nationalism was primarily a middle-class phenomenon: 'most working-class Welsh people continued to see English as the language of education, material advancement and social mobility, while Welsh remained the language of ignorance, poverty and social inferiority'.[65] Stanley seems to have shared this attitude and expressed his feelings accordingly when refusing an invitation to speak at an Eisteddfod festival in June 1891.

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[64] *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales* (London: William Clowes, 1847), part III, p. 321. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 136.
[65] Roberts, p. 221.

> The Eisteddfod, as I understand it, is for the purpose of exciting interest in the Welsh nationality and language. My travels in the various continents have ill-prepared me for sympathising with such a cause. If I were to speak truly my mind, I should recommend Welshmen to turn their attention to a closer study of the English language, literature, and characteristics, for it is only by that training that they can hope to compete with their English brothers for glory, honour, and prosperity. (*A* 430)

In private he was less polite about the ambitions of Celtic nationalists, and as a Liberal Unionist MP had frequent occasions to denounce such causes: 'Wales for the Welsh', Stanley grumbled in one of his note-books, was as senseless as 'Ireland for the Irish' (*A* 531).

But despite the ethnographic overtones of Stanley's comments on the Welsh and the Irish, his opinions on Anglo-Saxon identity are ultimately more akin to Mandler's model of 'national character', which rather than insisting on prescriptive racial categories, 'explained why the English were on the top rung of the ladder and suggested how others might join them'.[66] As Stanley explained in another private note, the Welsh were not deterministically bound by biological traits, and any race might progress if it were only willing to follow the example of Anglo-Saxon civilisation.

> I am quite willing to admit that the Welsh are as good as any, and that they might surpass the majority of people if they tried [. . .] in Nature the large part of humanity is on a pretty even plane, but that some respectable portion of it, thank Goodness! has risen to a higher altitude, owing to the advantages of civilisation. But there is a higher altitude still, which can only be reached by those nations who leave off brooding among traditions, and grasp firmly and gratefully the benefits offered to them by the progress of the age, and follow the precepts of the seers. [. . .] A common flag waves over these happy islands, uniting all in a brotherhood sealed by blood. Over what continents has it not streamed aloft? Who can count the victories inscribed on it? (*A* 531)

Part of the attraction of the Anglo-Saxon identity lay in its association with feats of travel, migration and conquest, a fact not lost on Stanley, the migrant, explorer, and imperialist. The idea that the Anglo-Saxons were a naturally mobile and inherently diasporic race was frequently invoked in the period. Twenty years before Arnold, John Stuart Mill had argued against the importance of race to issues of politics and governance, and had advocated the

[66] Mandler, p. 89.

mingling of Saxon blood 'with the more excitable and imaginative constitution' and 'more generous impulses' of the Celts.[67] However, in response to Carlyle's suggestions that the humanitarian crisis precipitated by the Irish Potato Famine could be solved by the enforced migration of the Irish peasantry to the settler colonies, he argued forcefully against the efficacy of Celtic migration in essentialist terms that echoed American statements about the regressive instincts of the Indian:

> [The] Celtic Irish are not the best material to colonize with. The English and Scotch are the proper stuff for the pioneers of the wilderness. The life of the backwoodsman does *not* require the social qualities which constitute the superiority of the Irish; it *does* require the individual hardihood, resource and self-reliance which are precisely what the Irish have not. [. . .] Such a people are only fit for an old country, and an old country is only for them.[68]

For Robert Young the turn towards the prescriptive definition of Englishness and the turn to Anglo-Saxonism in the mid-century is a response to migration, empire and an ever-expanding English diaspora. Young suggests that Anglo-Saxon identity, as it emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, was essentially a New World phenomenon and was 'introduced into English precisely to describe the English abroad, the diasporic population.'[69] In a social climate where the '[racial] consciousness of Saxon England was giving way to a perception of the global context of Anglo-Saxondom', the peripheral space of Ujiji where (in Stanley's phrase) 'Americans and Englishmen are the same people', was thus the ideal place to experiment with these new fluid forms of racial identification.[70] In this sense, Stanley's attachment to the cult of the Anglo-Saxons was undoubtedly related to his unrootedness and his ambivalent race and nationality. The reputation of the Anglo-Saxon as a natural born adventurer, pioneer and traveller, was to prove serviceable in his own attempts to develop his media image as an explorer. Conveniently, the migratory, peripatetic Saxon echoed a figure he had already mythologised in his *Missouri Democrat* letters: the frontier settler.

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[67] J. S. Mill, *Newspaper Writings, January 1845-June 1847*, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, edited by Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), vol. XXIV, p. 915. Originally published in the *Morning Chronicle*, 26 Oct. 1846, p. 4.
[68] Mill, *Newspaper Writings*, p. 973 [*Morning Chronicle*, 2 Dec. 1846, p. 4.]
[69] Young, *English Ethnicity*, p. 181.
[70] Ibid., p. 183.

2.4 Almost Unmanned

In his comprehensive study of the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility, John Mullan suggests that sentiment and the mechanics of its expression become increasingly medicalised in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century Man of Feeling becomes the mad Romantic poet or the Victorian hysteric.[71] Janet Todd goes further and argues that 'the [Victorian] association of sensibility with effeminacy, made the sentimental style possible only as a lapse from masculine 'rigour' and moral and social seriousness'.[72] However, I would suggest that these anxieties about emotional expression precipitated a transformation, rather than a complete suppression, of a serious culture of male sentimentality. For William Thackeray, the Enlightenment Man of Feeling, a cultivated epicure of sensibility, was both distastefully insincere and contemptuously self-indulgent. In his lectures on the *English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century* (1853), he denounced the self-conscious 'artistical sensibility' of Laurence Sterne with its 'uneasy appeals to my risible or sentimental faculties [. . .]. He is always looking at my face, watching its effect [. . .] posture-making, coaxing, and imploring me'. Thackeray does not reject the aesthetic legitimacy of authorial appeals to the 'sentimental faculties' *per se*; he simply suggests that the sentimental mode is more effective when practised with moderation and restraint, or with what he terms 'manly dignity'.[73] As Anne Vincent-Baffault suggests, in relation to the French novel of the nineteenth century, a regulated 'economy of tears made the moment of virile sensibility all the more valid'. 'Emotion [could] be expressed', she continues, 'but communication through tears was no longer to be found in the immediacy of a delicious impulse […] restraint and modesty transformed attitudes, as though the feelings presented were all the more true for being suppressed'.[74] It is no accident that dogs – whose devotion to their masters is always sincere but never articulate – become a favourite repository of middlebrow Victorian sentiment. The absence of polished expression and practised eloquence testifies to strength of feeling and, ultimately, to moral superiority. For Stanley and his readers, the dramatisation of emotional repression would become, in much the same way, a means of emotional expression.

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[71] John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: the Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 217-26.
[72] Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 148.
[73] William M. Thackeray, *English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Smith Elder, 1853), p. 284.
[74] Anne Vincent-Buffault. *A History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 129, 131.

On the other hand, Fred Kaplan problematises the reading of Victorian sentiment as a reaction against the eighteenth-century 'man of feeling' by arguing that 'British Victorian sentimentality originated in eighteenth-century moral philosophy'.[75] According to Kaplan, Dickens is a successful sentimentalist because his focus is always upon the dramatic welling-up of innate moral sentiments in human characters, and thus his appreciation of feeling is built upon the solid grounding of an enduringly-pervasive Enlightenment moral philosophy.[76] In this sense 'manly' sentimentalism becomes the manifestation of the moral and social superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilisation and not the lapse of masculine 'reason'. Just as Matthew Arnold's Anglo-Saxon ('disciplinable and steadily obedient within certain limits, but retaining an inalienable part of freedom and self-dependence') had constituted the model liberal subject in anticipation of the Second Reform Bill, so Dickens, Thackeray and Stanley offered a more democratic reimagining of the eighteenth-century Man of Feeling. As Mandler has suggested, in the 1860s English identity moved away from the elitist cult of the English Gentleman and towards the more egalitarian figure of the Anglo-Saxon – an identity which accommodated both the responsible feudal lord and the industrious yeoman. Just as Africa was a peripheral zone in which to experiment with new notions of transatlantic sympathy, it was also an experimental space in which to forge the identity of the democratic Anglo-Saxon Man of Feeling and test the limits of his sensibility.

In Stanley's account, what begins as a politically expedient fellowship between an American journalist and a Scottish missionary, blossoms into an intense personal friendship. Even though this initial exchange with Livingstone was characterised by Stanley's struggle to abide by his own caricature of Anglo-Saxon restraint, in *How I Found Livingstone* this soon gives way to the heartfelt expression of sympathy and the effusive outpouring of emotion. '[N]ever had I been called to record anything that moved me so much', says Stanley, 'as this man's woes and sufferings, his privations and disappointments, which now were poured into my ear' (*HIFL* 427). In Stanley's private journal there is even less emotional restraint in evidence. He was, in actuality, far from successful in concealing his emotions from the older man. By the time of his departure, Stanley, the workhouse orphan, had come affectionately to regard Livingstone as, not only a mentor, but also a surrogate father figure. In his journal he describes his last night with Livingstone**:**

[75] Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 5.
[76] Kaplan, pp. 62-70.

> I have received the thanks that he had repressed all these months in the secrecy of his heart, uttered with no mincing phrases, but poured out, as it were, at the last moment, until I was so affected that I sobbed, as one only can in uncommon grief [. . .] his sudden outburst of gratitude, with that kind of praise that steals into one and touches the softer parts of the ever-veiled nature, — all had their influence; and, for a time, I was as a sensitive child of eight or so, and yielded to such bursts of tears that only such a scene as this could have forced.[77]

The impact of the emotion here is heightened by the months of repression which have preceded it. In contrast to the curtness with which the men had conversed in front of the Arabs, the sentiment is now 'poured' out in momentous 'outbursts'. Stanley's true nature is, we are told, 'ever-veiled'. Yet now, in an infantilised state, he drops the veil, and allows the tears to flow. When Stanley comes to write up his account for the public, this exchange is omitted and replaced by a manically evasive two-line note: 'I have noted down all he has said to-night; but the reader shall not share it with me. It is mine!' (*HIFL* 494). Although *How I Found Livingstone* is at times as sentimentally effusive as the journal accounts, the expression of emotion is more often deferred, suppressed or deflected. On the night before Stanley's departure back to the coast the focus is shifted from the tearful exchange between the two men (described in the journal) to a musical performance given by Livingstone's porters in Stanley's honour. 'My men joined in' records Stanley:

> and, captivated by the music despite myself, I also struck in, and performed the 'light fantastic,' to the intense admiration of my braves, who were delighted to see their master unbend a little from his usual stiffness. It is a wild dance altogether [. . .] The scruples and passions of us all are in abeyance; we are contending demons under the heavenly light of the stars, enacting only the part of a weird drama, quickened into action and movement by the appalling energy and thunder of the drums. The warlike music is ended, and another is started [. . .] the last words of a slow and solemn refrain. The words are literally translated: – Oh-oh-oh! the white man is going home! (*HIFL* 491-92)[78]

In what is a common manoeuvre in Stanley's writing, the author's emotional state is expressed through the interpolated translation of a Swahili song. The Africans show no inclination or desire to restrain their emotions and Stanley allows himself to flirt briefly

[77] H. M. Stanley, Journal (13 March 1872), RMCA MS 11. Later excerpted in *A* 279.
[78] A more detailed account of this performance is recorded in one of Stanley's fine-copy journals (12 March 1872), RMCA MS 11.

with this 'savage' mode of expression (in a casual comic fashion) by tripping his 'light fantastic.' Stanley's inner turmoil is projected onto the 'weird drama' in which he and the dancers battle demons, a drama which Stanley praises for its 'remarkable epic beauty, rhythmic excellence, and impassioned force' (*HIFL* 493). He plays the primitive by participating in this 'savage' melodrama but it is ultimately the Africans who are left to verbalise his sense of loss: 'Oh-oh-oh! the white man is going home!'

Livingstone died within two years of Stanley's departure. And shortly after his funeral, Stanley extensively revised his book, substantially expanding his leave-taking scene, conscious of the added poignancy it now carried – it was the last conversation Livingstone had had, not only with Stanley, but with any white man. Dana Nelson in his work on what he calls the 'melancholy of white manhood' has suggested that in the nineteenth century 'white men seem able to achieve the equalitarian reassurance of unmediated brotherhood only with the dead or imagined men'.[79] And although I have suggested that Stanley at least attempts to forge an exemplary bond of manly Anglo-Saxon fidelity with Livingstone, the later version of his text certainly demonstrates a relaxing of 'mediation.' The scene is once again characterised by repressed emotion but Stanley's desire to express himself in an 'effeminising' outburst has now become almost irresistible.

> But though I may live half a century longer, I shall never forget that parting scene in Central Africa. I shall never cease to think of the sad tones of that sorrowful word Farewell, how they permeated through every core of my heart, how they clouded my eyes, and made me wish unutterable things which could never be.
>
> An audacious desire to steal one embrace from the dear old man came over me, and almost unmanned me [. . .] but these things were not to be, any more than many other impulsive wishes, and despite the intensified emotions which filled both of us, save by silent tears, and a tremulous parting word, we did not betray our stoicism of manhood and race. I assumed a gruff voice, and ordered the Expedition to march, and I resolutely turned my face toward the eastern sky. (*HIFL* 498)

Earlier we noted Stanley's attempt to perform Anglo-Saxon restraint, and here he appears to fully unmask his performance as just that. Although Stanley freely admits how close he has come to being 'unmanned', the virility of the Anglo-Saxon race is ultimately preserved. He manages to restrict the articulation of his 'unutterable' desires to a single 'tremulous

[79] Dana Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), ix-x.

parting word', regains his 'gruff voice', forcefully asserts his command over his African subordinates and subsumes his grief dutifully to the job at hand. Much like the protagonists of Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall' and 'Maud', the recognition of emotional upheaval, the reality of psychological trauma, and even the possibility of effeminising hysteria is followed by an imperial call to arms. Trauma is not so much suppressed as elided – or 'worked out' – as the hero turns his face away from the subject of his 'unmanning' affections, and towards the manly labours of empire. So while there are real tears in his journal entries, in *How I Found Livingstone* these are replaced by dramatic moments of concealment and restraint. Stanley is both aware and wary of the traditional association of sentiment with femininity, aware enough to use the unmanning powers of sentiment to dramatic effect. As in many affective portrayals of male relationships, it is the absence of expression, the restrained silence, and the dead air, which becomes the sentimental nexus for the reader. In this way, Stanley indulges in a mode of 'manly' sentimentalism, while still reserving the right to assign the unrestrained venting of emotion to the sphere of the feminine and the savage.

2.5 This Chain of Love

Tom Lutz suggests that the male viewer's emotional response to a pathetic scene is often linked to an idealised fantasy of masculine 'role performance'. 'Men's tears at male melodramas are' he suggests 'overdetermined by pressures to strive to fulfil and at the same time reject the dominant male roles of the time'.[80] The pathos of Stanley's narrative relates to his devotion to his perceived 'role' as Livingstone's successor. He initially takes solace in the fact that he will carry out Livingstone's requests, passing on his letters and arranging for the outfitting and delivery of his future supplies. More importantly, Stanley pledges to carry the mantle of Livingstone's dual legacies: the crusade against the East African slave trade and the quest for the source of the Nile. As he explains, 'I felt that so long as I should be doing service for Livingstone, I was not quite parted from him, and by doing the work effectively and speedily the bond of friendship between us would be strengthened' (*HIFL* 499). Appropriately enough, the journalist's fealty towards Livingstone is enacted through the speedy relay of information: Stanley is entrusted with a series of letters in which the older man has detailed the horrors of the Central African slave-trade. In what Stanley

[80] Tom Lutz, 'Men's Tears and the Roles of Melodrama' in *Boys Don't Cry? Rethinking Narratives of Masculinity and Emotion in the U.S.*, ed. by Milette Shamir and Jennifer Travis (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 185-86.

describes as 'one of the most generous acts that could be conceived' Bennett arranges for Livingstone's letters to be telegraphed in their entirety to New York from Aden (in modern Yemen), at an expense of £2,000 (*HIFL* 533). Stanley shows similar devotion when it comes to relaying information back to Livingstone from 'civilisation'. Stanley promises to send Livingstone the latest news from Aden and pledges 'that he will receive the message from me quicker than anything was ever received in Central Africa' (*HIFL* 494). As he begins his homeward journey, he has, he admits, 'turned courier' for Livingstone (*HIFL* 490). It is fitting that Stanley the newspaper man should first see Livingstone as a mere piece of news, 'a great item for a daily newspaper, as much as other subjects in which the voracious news-loving public delight in' (HIFL 344). However, Stanley must later acknowledge that Livingstone is also a reader of the press and therefore an audience. Livingstone was already familiar with the *New York Herald* and Stanley found him to be an obsessive consumer of whatever print he could get his hands on. On the morning after their first meeting, Stanley awakes to find the floor of Livingstone's hut scattered with 'newspapers…"Saturday Reviews" and numbers of "Punch"' (HIFL 340).[81] Stanley begins to cast himself as a sort of medium for information, as the foreign correspondent becomes increasingly indistinguishable from the media he deals in – the newspaper and the telegraph. On Stanley's first evening with Livingstone at Ujiji, he eagerly updates the missionary on all the European news:

> I found myself enacting the part of an annual periodical to him. There was no need of exaggeration of any penny-a-line news, or of any sensationalism. The world had witnessed and experienced much the last few years. The Pacific Railroad had been completed; Grant had been elected President of the United States [. . .] the Napoleon dynasty was extinguished by the Prussians [. . .] and France, the proud empire, was humbled to the dust [. . .] What could a man have exaggerated of these facts? What a budget of news it was to one who had emerged from the depths of the primeval forests of Manyuema! The reflection of the dazzling light of civilisation was cast on him while Livingstone was thus listening in wonder to one of the most exciting pages of history ever repeated. How the puny deeds of barbarism paled before these! [. . .] More worthily, perhaps, had the tongue of a lyric Demodocus recounted them; but, in the absence of the poet, the newspaper correspondent performed his part as well and truthfully as he could. (*HIFL* 334-335).

[81] Stanley also records reading 'four numbers of the 'Herald'" sent to him by the American consul at Zanzibar in the village of Rosako, Ugogo on 2 May 1872 (*HIFL* 521). For more on Stanley, Livingstone and contemporary journalism see Matthew Rubery, 'Joseph Conrad's "Wild Story of a Journalist"', *ELH*, 71 (2004), 751-774.

This is Stanley at his most self-consciously modern. There could be no more obvious illustration of Africa's temporal alterity than Stanley's evocation of the enlightening, almost transfigurative, qualities of up-to-date 'news' against the timeless barbarism of the 'primeval forests'. However, there is also an affective force to this scene. The transcendence of 'news' allows Stanley to re-establish an 'imagined community' of two around the shared consumption of these auspicious events in Europe and America. In this context, there may be something more to Stanley's seemingly pompous comparison between himself and the 'lyric Demodocus'. The fictional blind poet at the court of King Alcinous in the *Odyssey*, Demodocus recites three poems in the presence of the King's guest (a disguised Odysseus). Two of the poems, which recount recent 'news' from Trojan War, are performed with such pathos that they cause the hero to weep uncontrollably. In order to conceal his true identity, Odysseus is forced to conceal his tears from the King (*Odyssey*, VIII). If Livingstone is here figured as Odysseus, then Stanley plays the role of tear-jerking bard, even if he must make do with the less poetical resources of the 'newspaper correspondent'.[82]

The English journalist and travel writer William Hepworth Dixon would, in similar terms, highlight the ability of fresh news to unite a global readership in transnational sympathy. Just like Stanley, Dixon uses the collapse of the Second French Empire and the Prussian victory at Sedan in September 1870 as his case in point.

> Events occur in a few hours which change the flow and custom of the world. A crash, an onset, and a rout – Napoleon is a prisoner, Wilhelm is on his way to Versailles. The political and military centre of Europe is transferred from Paris to Berlin. These things are done in a dozen hours, and in another dozen hours men are talking in their breathless haste and fever of these great events, not only in Paris and Berlin, but in the mosques of Cairo and the streets of Archhangel, in the bazaars of Calcutta and on the quays of Rio, by the falls of Ottawa, in the market places of San Francisco, and in the shops of Sydney. [. . .] All the corners of the earth are joined, kindled, fused. Just as in a theatre you speak directly face to face with five or six hundred persons, so that every one laughs or weeps under a common impulse laughing with the same wave of merriment, crying at the same pang of emotion; so the poetical telegraph speaks to the whole world – now become a theatre –bringing joy and sorrow, exaltation and remorse, to every kind and race of man.[83]

[82] Stanley's Homeric references and citations are usually to Alexander Pope's English verse-translation of the *Iliad* (1720) and *Odyssey* (1726). See *HIFL* 386.
[83] William Hepworth Dixon, 'Literature and the Drama: A Toast', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 16 (1876), 664-672 (pp. 670-71).

In Dixon's utopian vision, the imperial politics of continental Europe generate as much interest in Lahore as in London. Paradoxically, the 'news' of conflict becomes the catalyst to a sympathetic reaction that effaces cultural difference and neutralises the affective incongruities between imperial centre and margin. Disparate regions of the globe are united in a sentimental union, as metropolitan and colonial cities are 'joined, kindled' and 'fused' – like the audience at a theatrical melodrama – by the shared consumption of the telegraphically transmitted news.

In *How I Found Livingstone* channels of communication are consistently portrayed as the infrastructure of sentiment. Stanley praises the self-sacrificing zeal of Livingstone (the 'Apostle of Africa') and suggests that, through his missionary and exploratory labours, he is forging durable networks of affect and information.

> With every foot of new ground he travelled over he forged a chain of sympathy which should hereafter bind the Christian nations in bonds of love and charity to the Heathen of the African tropics. If he were able to complete this chain of love—by actual discovery and description of them to embody such peoples and nations as still live in darkness, so as to attract the good and charitable of his own land to bestir themselves for their redemption and salvation— this, Livingstone would consider an ample reward. (*HIFL* 490)

What is initially conceived as a chain of 'sympathy' and 'love', is contextualised – in Stanley's lengthy parenthesis – as the geographical and ethnographic labours of the explorer: 'discovery' and 'description'. This figurative 'chain of love' is the first stage in a process which has as its end the assimilation of Africa into the global network of Anglo-Saxon technology. The primary function of Livingstone's 'chain of love' is to stimulate the interest and sympathy of 'good and charitable' Britons, to 'bestir' the 'Christian nations' into playing their part in the civilising mission. The imperial project was often characterised as the victory of scientific rationalism over the perceived irrationality and barbaric emotional excess of savage peoples. Stanley's metaphoric mingling of technology and 'love', however, reveals the extent to which empire was itself conceived as a sentimental project. In this model the networks forged by explorers, railways and telegraphs would communicate a culture of scientific rationalism and progressive modernity, but they would also transmit the qualities of civility, sociability and sympathy which had come to define the Anglo-Saxon structure of feeling.

Although he self-consciously declared himself unworthy to fill the role of the sentimental bard Demodocus, Stanley was powerfully aware of the role a 'newspaper correspondent' could play in exploiting public sentiment. Like Stanley's expedition, Livingstone's death and burial would also be a media event at which Stanley and several other notables of African exploration acted as pall-bearers (Fig. 2.4). When the *Graphic* issued a fourteen-page illustrated supplement on 'Life and Labours of David Livingstone', Stanley contributed a hagiographical 14-page obituary in which he pledged to extol his grief not in self-indulgent mourning but in action. Good to his word, the goal of his next and greatest journey, the significantly titled the Anglo-American Expedition, was to complete the geographical labours of the 'good doctor'.

In his *Graphic* obituary, Stanley vividly evokes the ways in which the trials and tribulations of explorers on the imperial periphery were forcefully *felt* in 'the streets of the mighty metropolis':

> It must be acknowledged that if there is one sight more pathetic that the dim and distant figure of a lonely traveller, labouring for the sake of good to his fellow man through such difficulties as environ him in Central Africa, it is the sight of weeping or sorrowing multitudes lamenting his loss by death, as was witnessed in the streets of London [. . .] The knowledge that such deep sympathy as was expressed so mutely, yet so feelingly, can be evoked for the loss of so poor and humble a man, makes us prouder of our civilisation, more thoroughly appreciative of one another as co-workers in a great cause […] It makes us value one another, as sentient sympathetic fellow-men, powerful when united for the distribution of benefits to the whole human race.[84]

Through its emphasis on the tribulations of the 'lonely traveller, labouring for the sake of good to his fellow man', the exploration narrative was an inherently pathetic genre. The transmission of tales of exploration from margin to metropolis was calculated to provoke the sympathies and tears of the 'multitude'. With the canonised Livingstone as the self-sacrificing and suffering protagonist, it took on the dimensions of a Passion play. The elevation of private suffering to public spectacle becomes the means to national salvation. Inspired with a new faith in 'our civilisation', the metropolitan citizens take up the White Man's Burden in solidarity with their 'co-workers' and the expansion of free trade commerce and British colonial power is reinvented as an altruistic – almost socialistic – globalising mission: the 'distribution of benefits to the whole human race'.

[84] H. M. Stanley, 'The Life and Labours of David Livingstone', *Graphic*, 25 April 1874, pp. 393-407 (p. 394).

On 24 June 1872, as the success of Stanley's mission was hitting the headlines, Benjamin Disraeli delivered his famous Crystal Palace speech in which he charged Gladstone's Liberals with attempting 'to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England'. In an address held by many to mark to beginning of the 'new imperialism', the Tory leader claimed that it was not the power of the metropole but the sympathies of the settlers and colonised subjects for the mother country that had held the empire together. Disraeli now called on the English people to serve the empire by responding 'to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land'.[85]

2.6 Conclusion

In her 2002 work *Affective Communities*, Leela Gandhi explores the role that transnational friendships played in the rise of radical anti-imperialism in the late nineteenth century. Gandhi suggests that the fostering of cosmopolitan bonds between metropolitans and activists from the colonial periphery represented a 'politics of friendship' radically opposed to the 'tireless binarism', which, Gandhi argues, constituted 'the manichean logic of colonisation'.[86] In Gandhi's reading, nationalism and colonialism is enforced through the Aristotelian assumption that friendship was inherently *homphilic* i.e. friendships are always bonds of sameness rather than difference – a position which Gandhi suggests promotes narrow nationalist and racialist definitions of identity over more inclusive forms of *philoxenic* affiliation.[87] Imperialism and imperialists were, however, more complicated in their affective alliances than Gandhi credits and I would suggest that what Gandhi terms 'affective cosmopolitanism' was, in fact, as central to the imperial project as it was to the structures and networks of anti-imperial resistance. Imperial affect and 'manly' sentimentalism crossed boundaries of nation and race not in order to resist mythologies of empire but to endorse and enshrine them. If the *philoxenic* anti-imperialists and their rejection of essentialised 'communitarian' notions of the individual are modern because they anticipate the utopian dissolution of identity in postmodernism; then Stanley's

[85] Qtd. in C. C. Eldridge, *Disraeli and the Rise of a New Imperialism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 87-88. For a discussion of the rise of 'imperialism' as a popular concept in and around 1869 and its origin in earlier colonial policy and political philosophy see Edward Beasley, *Empire as the Triumph of Theory: Imperialism, Information, and the Colonial Society of 1868* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 11-13. For Disraeli's 'new imperialism' in a literary context see Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 1-31.
[86] Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 11, 15,
[87] Gandhi, pp. 17, 29.

embrace of imperial affect and transnational sympathy is modern because it obviates nationalism by embracing universalism in a way that prefigures the neoliberal celebration of globalisation.

In *Descent of Man* (1871), written a year before his study on the *Expression of the Emotions*, Darwin was keen to connect the linguistic developments of the higher animals to the complex relations of sympathy which bound together the tribal groupings of social animals. The social construction of a system of morals and ethics can develop only after evolutionarily useful sympathies, expressed in an increasingly complex language, are forged by the group. Darwin suggests that, for the social animal, individual struggle is no longer the primary agent of evolutionary development. The Malthusian struggle between individuals is replaced by a collectivist (and by implication nationalist) ideal of patriotic collectivism, 'the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race.'[88] Darwin's imperial vision of human progress enabled by tribalist aggression then takes a somewhat surprising turn towards liberal utopianism.

> As man advances in civilisation, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races [. . .] This virtue, one of the noblest with which man is endowed, seems to arise incidentally from our sympathies becoming more tender and more widely diffused, until they are extended to all sentient beings.[89]

As we can see, Darwin's sentimental schema has much in common with Gandhi's radical *philoxenia*. Like Gandhi, Darwin emphasizes – and celebrates – the capacity of sympathy to cross borders and transcend traditional categories of race (and even species). As we ascend the ladder of civilisation, our sympathies become boundless and are 'extended to all sentient beings'. But whereas Gandhi sees the 'politics of friendship' as a tactic for unleashing radical anti-colonial relativism, Darwin sees sympathy for the Other as an exercise in imperial universalism.

As Robert Young outlines, it is by a similar process that the category of the Anglo-Saxon is transformed from a culturally, linguistically and racially exclusive category in the 1840s to diasporic, transnational and even trans-racial community in the latter-half of the

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[88] Charles Darwin,*The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 238.
[89] Ibid., pp. 100-101.

century: 'The new idea of English ethnicity as something heterogeneous meant that it could be opened up to include a whole range of ethnicities whose identities stretched beyond England's natural or national borders'.[90] In a similar vein, Stanley characterises imperial sympathy as a force which has the power to assimilate other nationalities and other races, as the American and even the Celt become part of the affective community of Anglo-Saxonism. Stanley consistently dramatises the kind of radical extension of sympathies, which, according to Darwin, precipitate the rise of tribalism, the birth of nations, and (eventually) the advent of a homogenous and globalised empire. Of course, the empire was, in part, sustained by a myth of Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy and the 'Manichean' binaries and jingoistic sentiments that ordained the English as race fit to rule over others. However, the tirelessly differentiating practices of scientific racism were practiced alongside the liberal inclusiveness of sentimental imperialism. Darwin and Stanley integrate a naturalised ideal of manly sympathy within a political philosophy of imperial progress. But how far could such feelings plausibly extend beyond the limits of white or Euro-American identities? What were the limits of imperial sentiment? Could the African, like the Celt, be assimilated within this ever-expanding web of sympathy? During his next major expedition, Stanley would firmly establish his reputation as the greatest living 'African traveller' but he would also explore the borderlands of interracial sympathy and test the limits of Anglo-Saxon technocracy.

[90] Young, *English Ethnicity*, p. 180.

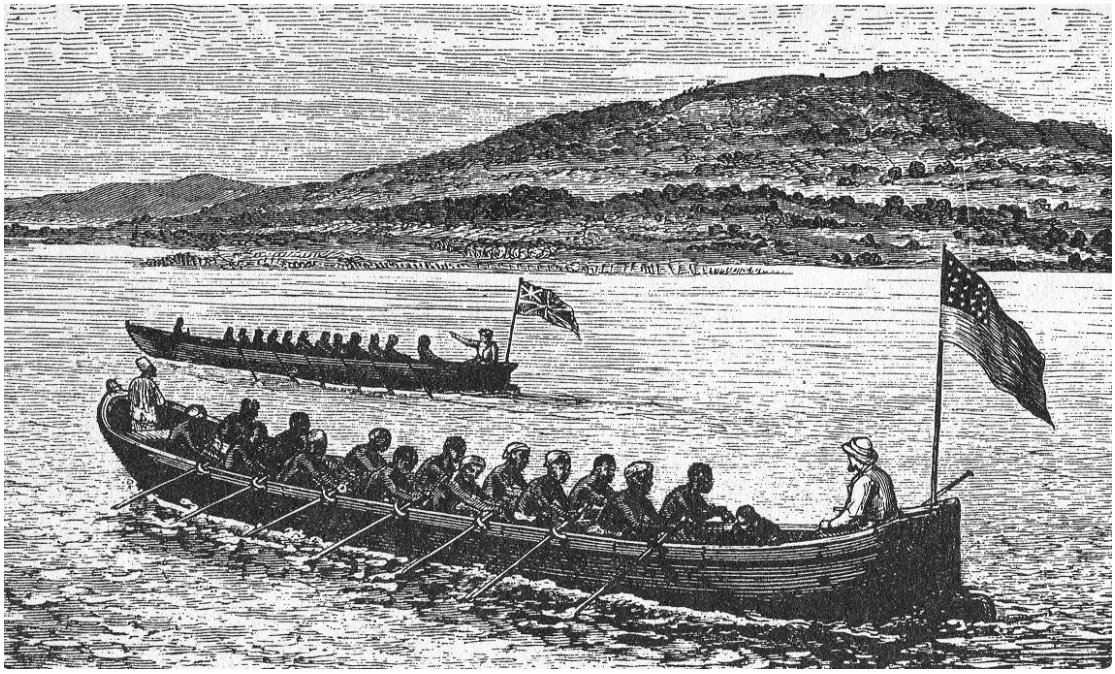

Fig. 2.1: Stanley and Livingstone explore Lake Tanganyika. From *How I Found Livingstone* (1872).

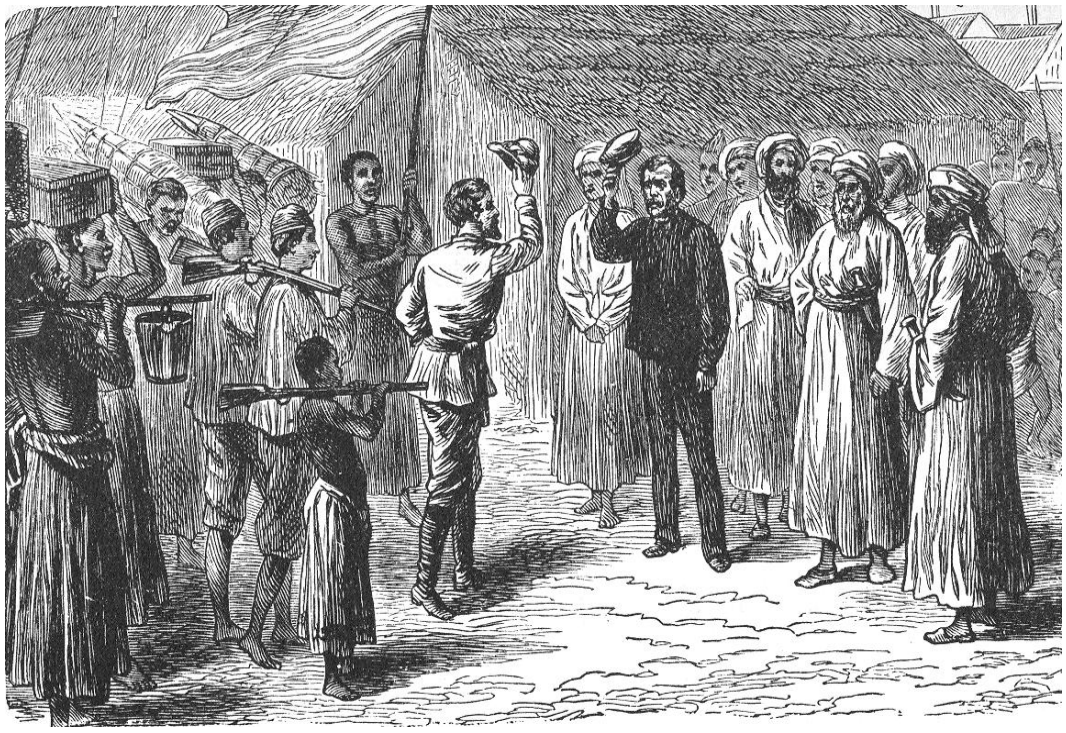

Fig. 2.2: The Meeting of Stanley and Livingstone at Ujiji. From *How I Found Livingstone* (1872).

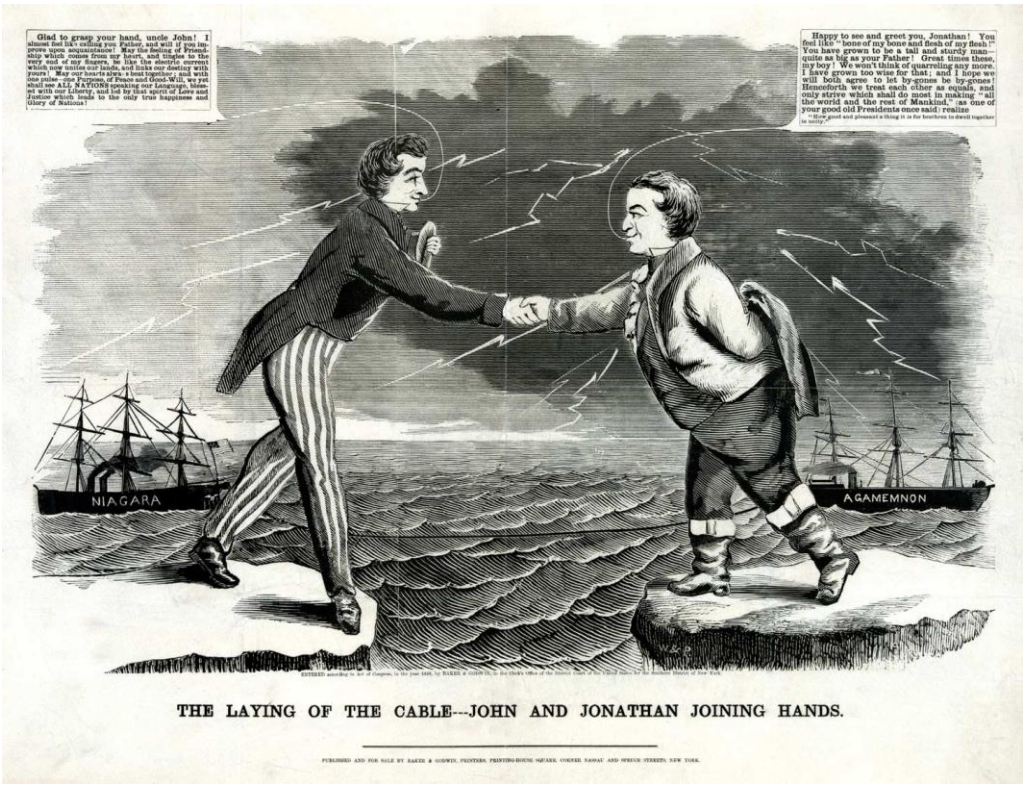

Fig. 2.3: *The Laying of the Cable – John and Jonathan Joining Hands* (New York: Baker and Godwin, 1858).

Fig. 2.4: Livingstone mourned by the 'the companions [. . .] who in South and Central Africa shared his joys and privations in the wild lands of the interior'. Stanley is on the extreme left. *Graphic*, 25 April 1874, p. 405.

3

SAVAGE TELEGRAPHY

SYMPATHETIC MEDIA IN *THROUGH THE DARK CONTINENT*

> Through desolate hunting-grounds, on which the Sioux and Osages chase their prey and scalp their enemies, the wire runs forward, wedding the wealth, energy, and civilisation of Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angelos [*sic*]. When you see how we girdle the earth in a few minutes – how we throw our chains over the wildest chasms, making the wild inhabitants of these waste places wonder and inquire – the first steps towards their better knowledge and their ultimate civilisation – can you say there is no quickening spirit in that wire, no poetry and drama in that electric spark? [. . .] It brings the very ends of the earth together, fusing the sum of human emotions into one common sentiment. Can the dramatic poet in his highest reach of tragic passion do as much?
>
> **William Hepworth Dixon (1876)**[1]

The rhetoric of Saxon sentiment is inextricably bound up with the means of its communication and diffusion through an expanding, interlocking web of telegraph wires, railways and shipping routes. Many Victorians connected the project of sympathetic imperialism with these new strategies and technologies of information gathering, transmission, and broadcasting. This connection between sympathy with the Other and knowledge of it meant that commercial and technological developments facilitated the experience of sentimental proximity. Alongside Stanley's concern with the emotional life of the Anglo-Saxon explorer stands his interest in the expressive capabilities and sympathetic capacities of other races; the parameters of Anglo-Saxon sentiment are most clearly delineated by comparison with emotional susceptibilities of Arabs, Celts and Africans. Language, expression, and speech have always been vital to the European conception of civilisation. And whereas European civilisation has long been bound by the rhetoric of intercourse, sociability and sentiment, 'barbarians' and 'savages' have been consistently defined by their deficiencies in language, articulation and sympathy. The Greek word *barbaroi* derives from an onomatopoeic representation of the slurred, stammering speech of

[1] William Hepworth Dixon, 'Literature and the Drama: A Toast', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 16 (1876), 664-672 (p. 669).

non-Greeks ('bar bar bar' as equivalent to our 'blah blah blah'). In the ancient and early modern world, Africa was commonly known as Barbary – which in both Latin and Arabic signifies a land of incomprehensible speech (OED). In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) we are presented with a startling contrast between the insane yet eloquent colonial prospector Kurtz – a master of language, an always convincing demagogue – and the inarticulate natives encountered by the narrator Marlow on his journey upriver.[2] Never more than monosyllabic, Africans are generally found 'screeching most horribly' or voicing their unspeakable urges in 'short, grunting phrases'.[3] For Marlow, even at their most clamorous, they express little more than an 'incomprehensible frenzy'.[4]

Like many of his contemporaries Stanley believed that the ideals which European civilisation so articulately *expressed* should be diffused as far and wide as possible. And he saw one particular invention as vital to the transmission and diffusion of Anglo-Saxon values, religion and commerce. The global spread of the electric telegraph had the potential to do for the diffusion of ideas what the railway had done for the movement of people. The language of sympathy, sentiment, and Anglo-Saxon eloquence were central to the rhetoric of technocratic globalisation and Anglo-American empire. In this sense, the imperial frontier, where the 'tentacles of progress' creep across the untamed wilderness is, once again, the region in which modernity *happens*.[5] Thus, Stanley's detailed accounts of the expansion of such networks may be read as part of the modernising discourse transmitted back to the metropolis from the colonial frontier. These narratives are transmitted via the very media they describe: a quite literal vindication of Marshall McLuhan's conviction that the 'medium is the message'.[6]

However, I also want to suggest that Stanley's comparisons between the networked 'modern' world and the primitive 'dark continent' are more nuanced than they initially appear. Although Stanley often repeats the presumptions and prejudices of this established cultural assumption, his texts just as often point the reader towards the instability of this dichotomy. As with Stanley's ambivalent characterisation of Anglo-Saxon sensibility, part of the attraction of the dichotomy of the sociable European and the taciturn and sulky savage is the constant potential for it to be challenged, ruptured, or even inverted. In

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[2] Many scholars have argued that Conrad's text is inspired or based on elements of Stanley's expeditions. For explicit comparisons between Stanley and Kurtz see Ian Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 140-46 and Matthew Rubery, 'Joseph Conrad's "Wild Story of a Journalist"', *ELH*, 71 (2004), 751-774.

[3] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, edited by Owen Knowles (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 28, 49.

[4] Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, p. 43.

[5] Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism,* 1850-1940 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[6] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964; repr. London: Routledge, 2001).

Through the Dark Continent (1878), Stanley often resorts to technological metaphors to describe 'primitive' expression, while also adapting traditional evolutionary and ethnographic models to account for what he sees as the inferior expressive and linguistic capacities of Africans. For Stanley, the 'savage' past becomes a way of naturalising the technocratic present, while modern technology becomes the means of describing and inscribing European notions of 'primitive man.' Even though Stanley frequently characterises Central Africans as backward and primitive, there are significant moments in his text that complicate this stereotype. By emphasising such moments of authorial uncertainty, native resistance, and discursive fissure, Stanley's text forces the reader to acknowledge alternatives to 'Anglo-Saxon' civilisation, thereby prefiguring not only the strategies of anti-colonial resistance but also the relativism and cultural plurality of modernism.

3.1 New Media and New Journalism

First appearing as a series of letters published in the *New York Herald* and the London *Daily Telegraph*, Stanley's narrative was circumscribed by the strictures and conventions of the periodical form. Late nineteenth-century journalists were preoccupied with the relay of up-to-date information through increasingly developed networks of communication. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Stanley had always taken a keen interest in the channels and networks through which the news was transmitted, often making the expansion of transport and communications networks (post, telegraph and railway) the theme of his despatches. In this context it was easy to see Fleet Street and its pioneering correspondents as the antithesis of the Dark Continent and its 'indolent savages' who – like Conrad's cannibals – have no 'clear idea of time, as we at the end of countless ages have.'[7] As Tim Youngs notes, the construction of 'timeless' Africa was 'closely associated with the capitalist quantification of time (and space) in the guise of the moral and spiritual worth of productivity.'[8] Africa served as a legitimising other to a 'modern' industrial capitalist society, which was perceived to have progressed from natural agricultural cycles, based on the sun and moon, to the mechanised clock time of the factory floor.[9] As many recent

[7] Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, p. 50.
[8] Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 23. Youngs also observes the 'conflict between industrial time and pre-industrial ("African") time' in *HIFL*. Tim Youngs, '"My Footsteps on these Pages": The Inscription of Self and Race in H. M. Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*', Prose Studies, 13 (1990), 230-249 (p. 233).
[9] E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), 56-97.

commentators recognise, print culture played an important role in modernising the perception of time, and disciplining the Victorian subject to the rigours of a standardized clock. The speed at which news was transmitted increased rapidly over the course of the century, and was spurred on by radical developments in printing (the steam powered rotary press), transportation (turnpikes, railways, and steam ships), and telecommunications (the 'Penny Post' and the electric telegraph). Daily newspapers did much to encourage the widespread impression that advances in transport and telecommunications heralded 'the annihilation of space and time'.[10] According to Benedict Anderson the textual juxtapositions offered by the newspaper were central to fostering 'our sense of simultaneity'. No longer based on explicitly shared experiences, the 'imagined community' of the modern nation is united 'by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar'.[11] Mark Turner has suggested that in the nineteenth century it is the 'media' that 'provides the rhythm of modernity'. The rise of the daily newspaper as the dominant periodical form 'coincides with a culture in which being "on time" and "in sync" becomes important in a number of contexts'.[12] As Turner observes, the rhetoric of the new journalism (which emerged in the 1870s and 80s) emphasised speed, synchronicity and simultaneity.[13] In his celebratory account of the new journalism, the Irish reporter, magazine editor, and parliamentarian T. P. O' Connor characterised the late Victorian period as 'an age of hurry and of multitudinous newspapers', in which frenzied journalists compete for the short attention span of readers in the limited column inches of papers that are 'picked up at a railway station, hurried over in a railway carriage, [and] dropped incontinently when read.'[14]

As Richard Menke points out, Rowland Hill's influential pamphlet on postal reform (which lead to the introduction of the Penny Post) was published in the same year (1837) that William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone patented the electric telegraph in Britain.

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[10] On the 'annihilation of time and space' through transport and media technology in the nineteenth century see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1914* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Peter Frank Peters, *Time, Innovation and Mobilities: Travel in Technological Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2006); James Mussell, *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Movable Types* (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2007).

[11] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; repr. London: Verso, 2006), pp. 24-5.

[12] Mark Turner, 'Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century', *Media History* 8 (2002), 183-96 (pp. 185-86).

[13] New journalism is often used loosely to refer to the popularising tendency of daily newspapers in the late-Victorian period, but is primarily associated with W. T. Stead's editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Stead himself coined the phrase in his essay 'The Future of Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, 50 (Nov. 1886), 663-79. On the rise of the 'new journalism' see Joel Weiner, *Papers for the Millions: the New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1988).

[14] T. P. O' Connor, 'The New Journalism', *New Review*, 1 (1889), 423-34 (p. 434).

Although both of these inventions contributed to the increasing pace of media transmission, it was the telegraph that proved revolutionary, decoupling 'data transmission from transportation' and so 'relieving the circulation of messages from the constraints of physical movement'.[15] Ironically, even though the telegraph promised to make physical transportation irrelevant, it was initially used as a railway signalling device, installed on the line between London and West Drayton in 1839. Almost immediately, however, it became a channel for transmitting 'news.' In August 1844 news of the birth of Queen Victoria's second son was carried from Windsor to the offices of the London *Times* along the Great Western Railway's telegraph line.[16] As Menahem Blondheim suggests, through 'the accelerated pace of news gathering and transmission', enabled by the near instantaneous transmission of the telegraph, 'newspaper intelligence was being transformed; from a history of tidings of the past it was becoming a chronicle of the present'.[17]

The day-to-day administration of empire was also structured and determined by the new technologies. The telegraph allowed a speedier transfer of knowledge and information between colony and metropole: London was connected to India and Canada in 1865, to Australia in 1871, and to the African Cape in 1879. More importantly, it also facilitated local administration within large colonies like India and the Cape.[18] However, as Aaron Worth points out, 'technologies were vital not only to the expansion and maintenance of the British Empire in the most prosaic sense, but also to its imaginative or conceptual invention as well'.[19] The telegraph was frequently portrayed as an extension of the human nervous system. Its system of pulses, sounds, and flashes, presented a multi-sensory communicative experience, the technological reification of Anglo-Saxon sentiment.

Ever since McLuhan compared the 'simultaneity of electric communication' to the operations of the human nervous system, commentators have read the invention of the electric telegraph as the beginning of the end of the human.[20] According to N. Katherine Hayles, the acknowledgment of a posthuman subject 'implies not only a coupling with intelligent machines but a coupling so intense and multifaceted that it is no longer possible to distinguish meaningfully between the biological organism and the informational circuits

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[15] Richard Menke, *Telegraphic Realism: Victorian Fiction and Other Information Systems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 72.
[16] Brian Winston, *Media, Technology and Society, a History: From the Telegraph to the Internet* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 23-24; Brian Bowers, *Sir Charles Wheatstone FRS: 1802-1875* (London: Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2001), p. 151.
[17] Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844-1897* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 26.
[18] Headrick, *Tentacles of Progress*, p. 100; Idem, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 46.
[19] Aaron Worth, 'Imperial Transmissions: H.G. Wells, 1897-1901', *Victorian Studies*, 53 (2010), 65-89 (p. 68).
[20] McLuhan, p. 270.

in which the organism is enmeshed'.[21] In 1985, Donna Haraway announced that we are all cyborgs, 'theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism' but the discourse that surrounded the incunabular age of electric telegraphy was just as concerned with the blurring between the categories of nature and culture, human and machine.[22] And, just like the modern exponents of Cyborg Theory, contemporary commentators were as likely to anthropomorphise the machine as to acknowledge the mechanisation of the body. 'The apparatus speaks a language,' suggested one contemporary telegrapher, 'a telegraphic language, as distinct in tone and articulation as belongs to any tongue'.[23] The pulsating cables of the telegraph network were soon appropriated as figurative manifestations of the Anglo-Saxon life-force, the Protestant work-ethic and Britain's imperial will to power.[24] Three years after Cooke and Wheatstone patented their electric telegraph, Carlyle prophetically envisioned 'English Commerce stretch[ing] its fibre over the whole earth [. . .] quivering in convulsion, to the farthest influences of the earth'.[25]

Bruno Latour has argued that modernity in essence 'designates two sets of entirely different practices'. The first process, which Latour calls 'translation', leads to the creation of 'entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture'; the second, which Latour describes as 'purification', insists on the separation of nature and culture into 'two entirely distinct ontological zones'.[26] In this sense the confusion between animal and machine which characterises telegraphic discourse can be seen as a form of 'translation', while the simultaneous rise of disciplines like ethnography, anthropology and sociology, encouraged by the influence of Comtean positivism, constitute the parallel, but distinct, practice of 'purification'.[27] Indeed Latour himself acknowledges the role of the telegraph as a mediating agent between scientific 'knowledge' and political 'practice'. Although empirical historians would no doubt dispute Latour's audacious claim that the Empire was 'made to

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[21] N. Katherine Hayles, *How We became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 35.
[22] Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 149-50.
[23] T. P. Shaffner, *The Telegraph Manual: A Complete History and Description of the Semaphoric, Electric, and Magnetic Telegraphs of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, Ancient and Modern* (New York, Pudney and Russell, 1859), pp. 456-57.
[24] Although other European nations also invested in telegraphic networks, 'the world cable industry was completely dominated by British capital and British engineering expertise'. Bruce J. Hunt, 'Doing Science in a Global Empire Cable Telegraphy and Electrical Physics in Victorian Britain' in *Victorian Science in Context*, ed. by Bernard Lightman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 312-333 (p. 316).
[25] Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* (1840; repr. London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), p. 21
[26] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, translated by Catherine Porter (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 10-11.
[27] Influential English disciples of the 'positive philosopher' Auguste Comte (1798-1857) included the sociologist and critic Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), the philosopher and scientist G. H. Lewes (1817-1878), the novelist George Eliot (1819-1880) and the 'father' of modern anthropology E. B. Tylor (1832-1917).

exist' by the 'the tiny cables laid out on the ocean', his hyperbole echoes that of the Victorian proponents of technocracy and sympathetic imperialism.[28]

The belief that the telegraph could unite disparate groups not only in space and time but also in sentiment was widespread. 'We are standing at the day-dawn of the Electric Age', announced W. T. Stead in 1890; the telegraph 'has annihilated time, abolished space, and it will yet unify the world'.[29] Even George Eliot, otherwise cautious in her appreciation of industrial modernity, lauded the spread of communications networks, and suggested that the 'railways, steam-ships, and electric telegraphs' bore witness to the 'interdependence of all human interests, and [made] self-interest a duct for sympathy'.[30] In the first official message sent from America to Britain on the short-lived transatlantic cable of 1858, President James Buchanan congratulated Queen Victoria on 'the great international enterprise accomplished by the skill, science, and indomitable energy of the two countries' and – with a characteristic blend of sentimental diplomacy and imperial ambition – expressed his hope that 'the Atlantic Telegraph, under the blessing of heaven, [may] prove to be a bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations, and an instrument destined by Divine Providence to diffuse religion, civilisation, liberty, and law throughout the world'.[31] An anonymous poem in the *Atlantic Monthly* lauded the cable in similar terms, predicting a transatlantic union which would enable a new era of Anglo-Saxon expansion.

> And one in heart, as one in blood,
> Shall all her peoples be;
> The hands of human brotherhood
> Shall clasp beneath the sea.
>
> Through Orient seas, o'er Afric's plain,
> And Asian mountains borne,
> The vigor of the Northern brain
> Shall nerve the world outworn.

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[28] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 108.
[29] [W. T. Stead], 'Looking Forward: A Romance of the Electric Age', *Review of Reviews*, 1 (1890), 230-41 (p. 230). Roger Luckhurst has explored the relationship between Stead's 'affective journalism', his internationalism, his occultism and his enthusiasm for the telegraph. *The Invention of Telepathy, 1870-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 135-147. On the publicising of electricity in Stead's *Review of Reviews* see Graeme Gooday, 'Profit and Prophecy: Electricity in the Late-Victorian Periodical' in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical* , ed. by G. N. Cantor (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2004), 238-54.
[30] [George Eliot], 'The Influence of Rationalism', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 (1865), 43-55 (p. 46).
[31] Robert Munro Black, *The History of Electric Wires and Cables* (London: Peter Peregrinus 1983), p. 26.

The cable is read as a bond between the Anglo-Saxon blood brotherhood of Britain and America, and also as the means by which the shared ideals of the two nations will be transmitted to (or imposed upon) their less-enlightened Asian and African brethren. This imperial homogeneity is presented as a utopian ideal: 'Space mocked, and Time outrun / And round the world, the thought of all / Is as the thought of one'.[32] Thus the elision of space and time has, as its inevitable consequence, the end of ideological conflict and the universal acceptance of an Anglo-American imperial destiny. Ironically, the poem was published after the first Atlantic cable had ceased to operate. The connection failed after only three weeks in September 1858 and the cable sent less than two-hundred messages in total. The connection would not be re-established until after the Civil War, when in July 1866 Isambard Kingdom Brunel's colossal steamer the *Great Eastern* laid the second successful cable between Valentia Island (off the coast of Co. Kerry) and St. John's in Newfoundland. Thus the 'marriage' of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations, and near instantaneous communication between Washington and Westminster, was facilitated by a wire connecting two rather remote outposts of the empire's 'Celtic fringe'.[33]

Commentators on both sides of the Atlantic viewed the spread of telegraph cables with utopian enthusiasm. Walt Whitman, in his poem 'Years of the Modern' (1865), hailed the average man who '[w]ith the steam-ship, the electric telegraph, the newspaper [. . .] interlinks all geography, all lands'.[34] In a later poem, the more obviously imperial 'Passage to India' (1868), he envisages a form of benevolent globalisation, in which all nations are eventually 'welded together [by] seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires'.[35] Later Kipling would devote a section of his 'Song of the English' (1896) to the deep-sea cables, which allowed 'the words of men, [to] flicker and flutter and beat' across the ocean floor and united the transatlantic English diaspora in mutual accord.[36]

The metaphors cut both ways, and while many saw the telegraph as the reification of transatlantic sympathies, others envisaged sympathy and sociability through metaphors of resonators, conductors and telegraphs.[37] In 1873, shortly after Stanley's return from the Livingstone expedition – and while the American journalist was busy touting the

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[32] 'The Telegraph', *Atlantic Monthly*, 2 (1858), 591-92.
[33] The majority of Newfoundland's white settlers were of Irish descent, and many were first-language Gaelic speakers. See George Casey, 'Irish Culture in Newfoundland' in *Talamh an Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays*, ed. by Cyril J. Byrne and Margaret Harry (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1986), pp. 203-27.
[34] Walt Whitman, *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose* (New York: The Library of America, 1982), p. 598.
[35] Whitman, *Complete Poetry*, p. 531.
[36] Rudyard Kipling, *The Seven Seas* (New York: Appleton, 1896), pp. 9-10.
[37] Laura Otis, *Networking: Communicating with Bodies and Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 3-8.

exploratory achievements of his transatlantic alliance with the Scottish missionary – Stanley spoke at a reception for English preacher and orator J. C. M. Bellew in New York. In his own after-dinner speech, Bellew drew a clear comparison between Britain and America's shared cultural heritage and the newly established telegraph cable.

> [We] speak a common language, enjoy a common literature, trace back in tens of thousands our ancestry to one common home, and whether Saxon or of Celtic origin, the hand of providence has pointed out to us a common road, hand in hand, in the vanguard of civilisation. Whatever storms may at times lower over the political horizon, we have here a healthy and reviving electrical current to clear the atmosphere.[38]

Stanley would no doubt have been sympathetic with Bellew's belief that the 'reviving electrical current' of a shared language and literature was enough to join Saxon and Celt in a harmonious imperial pact, but what about those races and nationalities beyond the Anglophone empire of Greater Britain? What were the limits of the sympathetic networks embodied by the railway, the steamship, the penny post and the telegraph? Did these networks embrace non-white races? Or were they simply tools of discipline and surveillance that facilitated the active oppression of non-white colonial subjects? Many contemporary commentators did believe that the telegraph could transcend even the most marked divisions of race and culture and herald a universalising expansion of sympathies. In a largely technical account of the electric telegraph in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860, the electrician John Stephens ends with a utopian prediction of the shape of things of come.

> [We] cannot but feel convinced that science, in this her most brilliant achievement, has placed in our hands an instrument which adds another link to that chain of causes which is slowly, silently, and imperceptibly bridging over the chasms which separate nation from nation and race from race; and whose influence on the future of civilization it is impossible to estimate. Its frail tendrils have not only penetrated into every corner of Europe – into remote lands whose religious systems and social institutions exist now as they existed at a time when our ancestors were mere barbarians, but it conveys its own significant lesson to the Indian in his wigwam, to the Hottentot in his kraal, and to the Arab in the desert.[39]

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[38] *Era*, 16 Feb. 1873, p. 4. 'During the late 1850s and early 1860s, [Bellew] built up a reputation as one of the most popular preachers in London [. . .] His readings were said to equal those of Fanny Kemble and Charles Dickens' (*DNB*).

[39] [John Stephen], 'Electricity and the Electric Telegraph', *Cornhill Magazine*, 2 (1860), 61-73 (p. 73).

Stephens's conviction that communications technologies have the power to bridge the 'chasms' between distinct races, his insistence that Indians, Hottentots, and Arabs are all receptive to the 'significant lesson' of the telegraph, is somewhat undermined by his choice of metaphors. Here the quivering nerves of the human body are replaced by the creeping tendrils of some parasitic creature that 'penetrates' and infests every corner of the globe. The rhetoric of sympathy barely conceals the strategies of empire. As Marx and Engels had anticipated in the 'Communist Manifesto' (1848), the telegraph and its metaphors would be instrumental to the expansion of European empire and the bourgeoisie would, through 'immensely facilitated means of communication, [draw] all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation'.[40]

3.2 Stanley and the Telegraph

The electric telegraph had been in widespread practical use for almost forty years by the time Stanley wrote *Through the Dark Continent*. However, his journalistic career coincided with a major telegraph boom in Britain. In 1850 Great Britain had 2,200 miles of telegraph. By 1867 it had 80,000 miles.[41] In 1869, the year Stanley received his commission to find Livingstone, there were seven million messages sent annually in Britain but by the turn of the century this figure had risen to almost 90 million. The increased traffic was enabled by the integration in 1869 of various private lines into a national grid managed by the Postmaster-General, and the decrease of rates to half-a-penny a word after 1885.[42] Always aggressively competitive in the race for the latest scoops, the *Herald*'s editor, James Gordon Bennett, Jr. established the Commercial Telegraph Company with the mining magnate John Mackay and, in 1884, laid his own rival transatlantic cable in an attempt to break Western Union's monopoly and force telegram prices down.[43]

Stanley's first notable coup for the *Herald* had come during the British campaign against Emperor Tewodros II of Ethiopia in 1868, when (thanks to a well-placed bribe at a Cairo telegraph office) his own account of the British victory appeared in the *Herald* days before the news had even reached London.[44] One of the first pieces of news which Stanley

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[40] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 'The Communist Manifesto', translated by Samuel Moore in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. by David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 221-47 (p. 225).
[41] Otis, p. 129.
[42] Christopher Keep, 'Technology and Information: Accelerating Developments', *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. by Patrick Brantlinger and William Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 137-54. p. 142; Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon*, p. 33.
[43] Dwayne Winseck and Robert M. Pike, *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets, and Globalization, 1860-1930* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 56-57; Michael J. Makley, *John Mackay: Silver King in a Gilded Age* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009), pp. 174-77.
[44] Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004), vol. 1, p. 69.

imparted to Livingstone in 1872 was 'the success of the Atlantic cables' (*HIFL* 487) and indeed Stanley owed much of his success to the existence of the cable, which ensured that his sensational story broke simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic.[45] On his final trip to America in 1890-91, Stanley dined with Cyrus Field (25 Jan 1891), the founder of the Atlantic Telegraphy Company and the man behind the first Atlantic Cable in 1858 (*A* 426). During the same trip, he paid a visit to Thomas Edison at his home in New Jersey, and was delighted with the inventor's prediction that soon it would be possible to 'fling a telegraphic message from ship to ship at sea, or from city to city on land without wires.'[46]

Stanley's second major African expedition, the Anglo-American Expedition (1874-77), was ostensibly a mission 'to complete the work left unfinished by the lamented death of Dr. Livingstone' (*TDC* 1: 3). Exactly what work Livingstone *had* left unfinished was, however, open to debate. By the time of his death in 1874 Livingstone had drifted increasingly away from missionary work and was more concerned with tracing the source of the Nile in the area west of Lake Tanganyika. Although Stanley was adept at borrowing the rhetoric of missionaries and anti-slavery campaigners, it is clear from *Through the Dark Continent* that the missionary and abolitionist projects are shelved early on in favour of what Stanley's sees as his primary task: to solve 'the remaining problems of the geography of Central Africa' (*TDC* 1: 3). In *Through the Dark Continent*, Stanley describes the genesis of this mission in the Fleet Street offices of the *Daily Telegraph*: Edward Levy-Lawson, the paper's proprietor, agrees to co-sponsor the expedition if Bennett at the *Herald* is willing to match his investment of £6,000; a telegram is sent from London to New York and 'within twenty-four hours, [the] "new mission" to Africa was determined on as a joint expedition, by the laconic answer which the cable flashed under the Atlantic: "Yes; Bennett"' (*TDC* 1: 3).

Although the title of the Anglo-American Expedition (AAE) suggested the transatlantic duo of Stanley and Livingstone, it actually stood for a marriage of convenience between two of the most popular newspapers in the English-speaking world. Launched shortly after the abolition of stamp duty in 1855 and priced at 1d, the *Daily Telegraph* quickly undercut and outsold its rivals – including the *Times* – achieving a circulation of around one hundred thousand by the end of the 1850s. As Matthew Rubery has suggested, the repeal of stamp duty and the rise of penny dailies meant Victorians of the 1860s were the first

[45] David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, ed. by Horace Waller (London: John Murray, 1874), p. 156; Clare Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire* (London: Profile, 2007), pp. 96-102.
[46] H. M. Stanley, Journal (31 January 1891). RMCA MS 81.

Britons 'to live within a mass media environment'.[47] The populist Liberal allegiances of the *Telegraph* were loudly proclaimed by the prolific and florid lead-writer George Augustus Sala, who also served as the paper's special correspondent during the American Civil War.[48] In 1867, long before he railed against the 'feather-brained' new journalism, Matthew Arnold denounced the *Telegraph* as an organ of philistinism and expressed his dismay that it was 'the newspaper with the largest circulation in England, nay [. . .] in the whole world'.[49] As Raymond Williams has noted, the *Telegraph*'s style of journalism bore the stamp of its media namesake, as the 'desire for compression, to save money on the wire, led to shorter sentences and a greater emphasis on key-words'.[50] In this it was borrowing directly from the innovations of American newspapers, in particular Bennett's *Herald*.[51] The *Telegraph* already had a reputation for crusading foreign correspondents and international news when, in 1873, the poet and Orientalist Edwin Arnold took over as editor and steered the paper towards an increasing engagement with empire and geo-politics. One of the heroes of Jules Verne's novel *Michael Strogoff* (1876) was the *Daily Telegraph* special correspondent Harry Blount, a dashing and determined reporter, determined at all costs to get news of a Siberian rebellion back to London over the wires.[52] The novel was published in England by Stanley's publishers Sampson and Low during the Anglo-American Expedition, and would have undoubtedly reminded English readers of Sala, Stanley and the *Telegraph*'s famous stable of itinerant 'specials'.

Through the practice of naming geographical features after his employers, Stanley would enact a kind of media sovereignty over the unmapped spaces of Central Africa. Gordon Bennett and Edwin Arnold were honoured with a mountain and river each; a group of uninhabited islets on Lake Victoria became the 'Telegraph Islands'; and the owner of the *Telegraph*, Edward Levy-Lawson, was immortalised by Mount Lawson and the Levy Hills (*TDC* 1: 334, 340, 2: 304).[53] The question of the sovereign authority and national

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[47] Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 6.
[48] Andrew King and John Plunkett, *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 340; Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2009), pp. 158-69, 554. For an authorised history of the *Daily Telegraph* see E. F. L. Burnham, *Peterborough Court: The Story of the Daily Telegraph* (London: Cassell, 1955).
[49] Mathew Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, 123 (May 1887), 629-43 (p. 638); Idem, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. by Samuel Lipman (1869 repr; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 40.
[50] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), p. 219. For the argument that telegraphic transmission led to more terse and neutral reportage see James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1983), pp. 211-28.
[51] See Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830s-1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism* (London: Palgrave, 2011).
[52] Jules Verne, *Michael Strogoff: Courier to the Czar* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1877).
[53] Bennett, *Stanley's Despatches*, p. 462.

affiliation of the expedition became a moot point, however, after Stanley's gleefully bloody description of two one-sided battles with the Bumbireh Islanders of Lake Victoria was published in the *Telegraph* in August 1876.[54] Tellingly Stanley begins his letter by openly comparing himself to a romantic Western hero of 'the Mayne Reid type' and as he works his way through an array of modern weaponry while calmly picking off Africans, he sounds less like a war correspondent and more like a bragging big game hunter: 'I discharged my elephant rifle, with its two large conical balls, into their midst [. . .] My double-barrelled shotgun, loaded with buck-shot, was next discharged with terrible effect [. . .] [T]his time I used the elephant rifle with explosive balls'.[55] Stanley presents his decision to 'make war' on the Bumbireh Islanders as a justifiable 'chastisement' for the 'bitter injuries' the expedition had previously sustained at their hands (the theft of eight wooden oars and a drum). This triumphalist description of the killing of 56 natives under the banner of 'the American and British flags' provoked widespread outrage and many protested against the use of the British ensign by Stanley's morally dubious and privately funded expedition.[56] 'He has no concern with justice, no right to administer it', thundered the *Saturday Review*, 'he comes with no sanction, no authority, no jurisdiction – nothing but explosive bullets and a copy of the *Daily Telegraph*'. An American explorer had no right, the *Review* argued, to 'tarnish the English flag, by taking it into countries where it was never seen before, as the banner of the Newspaper Militant'.[57] A few months after Stanley's initial account of the Bumbireh affair had appeared in the *Telegraph*, the foreign secretary (the former Consul of Zanzibar, John Kirk) wrote to Stanley requesting him to refrain from flying the British flag during the expedition.[58] Francis Galton, writing anonymously in the *Edinburgh Review*, praised the achievements of Stanley's expedition and had little sympathy for the murdered 'barbarians', though he too expressed his doubts as to 'how far a private individual, travelling as a newspaper correspondent, has a right to assume such a warlike attitude'.[59] Two members of the RGS, H. M. Hyndman and Sir Henry Yule, openly denounced Stanley's actions. Hyndman launched a bitter campaign against the *Telegraph* correspondent in the rival *Pall Mall Gazette* and Yule eventually resigned his fellowship when Stanley was awarded the

[54] H. M. Stanley, 'New African Expedition', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Aug. 1876, p. 2; 10 Aug. 1876, p. 3.
[55] *Daily Telegraph*, 7 Aug. 1876, p. 2.
[56] *Daily Telegraph*, 10 Aug. 1876, p. 3.
[57] 'Mr. Stanley's Explanations', *Saturday Review*, 16 Feb. 1878, pp. 207-208.
[58] J. Kirk to Stanley, 11 Dec. 1876. Public Record Office, Foreign Office MS 84/1454.
For a thorough analysis of the controversies connected with the expedition see Felix Driver, 'Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-166 (pp. 146-155). Jeal vigorously defends Stanley's actions but his major point – that Stanley probably killed 35 rather than 56 – seems perfunctory at best (*Stanley*, pp. 221-25).
[59] [Francis Galton], 'Stanley's Discoveries and the Future of Africa', *Edinburgh Review*, 147 (1878), 166-91 (p. 167).

RGS gold medal on his return in 1878.[60] Stanley's despatches, articles and books were eagerly consumed by a broad and diverse readership; however, the controversy which stalked Stanley throughout his career demonstrates that the popular reaction to these experiments in Newspaper Militancy was far from uniform.

3.3 Warning Signals

At first glance, Stanley's vision of Africa seems to present the antithesis of the technologically-enhanced modern world bound in mutual accord by the wires of the telegraph. Cartographically and telegraphically, Central Africa is for Stanley 'a white blank' (1: 3), an 'enormous void' (2: 195). At the time of Stanley's expedition, there were telegraphs in North Africa at Algiers, Alexandria, and Suez but the most convenient telegraph station for Stanley was at the small British colony of Aden in modern Yemen. As Winseck and Pike point out, 'Africa was the last place on the planet to be connected to the global communication infrastructure'.[61] Zanzibar, the starting point for most British expeditions into Equatorial Africa, would not become part of the Anglo-Indian telegraph network until 1879, when it was finally linked up with Aden, Mozambique and the British Cape Colony in South Africa.[62]

It was, in part, the time-lag which Central African travel inevitably induced on the reportage of military and geographical expeditions that made the continent appear so dark and antique to Europeans. The intervals between Stanley's dispatches during both the Livingstone mission and the Anglo-American expedition stretched from days to months as the explorer moved away from the coast and towards the centre of the continent. During the three-year Anglo-American Expedition, Stanley was out of telegraphic and postal contact for over six months on three separate occasions before he finally remerged at the mouth of the Congo, accompanied by a flood of letters which soon filled the pages of the *Herald* and *Telegraph*.[63] As Laurel Brake has shown, the rhythms of periodical culture 'created numerous and large communities of readers, all of whom were reading the same publication at roughly the same time all over the country.'[64] Mark Turner suggests that, for

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[60] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 134-36.
[61] Winseck and Pike, p. 103.
[62] Anton A. Huurdeman, *The Worldwide History of Telecommunications* (Hoboken NJ: Wiley, 2003) p. 137; Daniel Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon*, pp. 61-65.
[63] Bennett, *Stanley's Despatches*, pp. 483-44.
[64] Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (London: Palgrave, 2001), p. 15.

this affective community of periodical readers, meaning was not only generated by the texts themselves but also by the spaces and intervals between instalments or issues.

> Built into the notion of seriality is necessarily some conceptualization of waiting. The pause is a constitutive feature of periodical-ness, of all periodicities – there must be a break in time . . . In the breaks in the narratives of periodicals and the lapses of time – over a day, over a week, over a month – is where the meaning resides. That pause is when the interaction and communication occurs, and that period of waiting and reading is the link between the past and the future.[65]

J. Scott Keltie, one of Stanley's contemporary reviewers, observes such a cycle of expectation, delay, suspense, and eventual gratification in the intermittent flow of text generated by Stanley's expeditions. In fact Keltie suggests that Stanley's popularity lay not in the content of his dispatches but in the forms through which they were transmitted.

> In the merely geographical side of exploration the world at large probably has very little interest. It is the dangers and adventures connected therewith that rouse the popular excitement [. . .]. When Stanley crossed the continent on his great journey the letters which appeared at frequent intervals in the *Telegraph* and *Herald* kept the world informed of his movements, and helped foster and maintain public interest.[66]

Keltie understands Stanley's story as series of dramatic communications punctuated by intervals of silence, in which the imagination and fancy of the public is worked to a pitch of hysteria by the speculations of the press: 'At last news of success came, and letter after letter and telegram after telegram brought us a strange story of interesting and unexpected experiences.' In Keltie's opinion, Stanley's success as a storyteller lay primarily in the pace and suspense of transmission, in 'the fact that the telegraph never allowed our interest to flag'.[67] Central Africa is the black hole from which the clamorous voice of the Yankee journalist cannot escape; its attraction, in part, lies in its blatant affront to the very name of the *Daily Telegraph*. Africa resists the information-gathering mission of empire by slowing down periodical time.

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[65] Turner, pp. 193-94.
[66] J. Scott Keltie, 'Mr. Stanley's Expedition: Its Conduct and Results', *Fortnightly Review*, 48 (1890), 66-81 (p. 67).
[67] Keltie, 'Mr Stanley's Expedition', p. 70.

So must African resistance to the hegemony of Eurocentric temporal constructs necessarily involve a retreat into the timeless and primitive? Or did the Congo have its own media networks and technologies of transmission? In Stanley's opinion Africans were biologically equal but culturally inferior to Europeans in a number of ways, most importantly in their 'power of expression' (*TDC* 2: 57). In *Through the Dark Continent* we find numerous renderings of native speech as bestialised and inarticulate. On hearing a troop of chimpanzees, Stanley claims that he cannot 'distinguish any great difference between the noise they created and that which a number of villagers might make while quarrelling' (*TDC* 2: 33). This is how he describes a tribe in the district of Marunja on the Lualaba River, a tributary of the upper-Congo:

> They reminded me of the 'Houy-hynyms,' for, to express correctly the neighing sounds of the warriors [. . .] their cry ought to be spelled 'Yaha-ha-ha.' But in tone it was marvellously like a neighing chorus of several full-blooded stallions. Had I not been able to ascertain the names of these tribes, I should certainly have been justified in stating that after the 'Ooh-hu-hus' we encountered the 'Bo-bo-bos,' and after a dire experience with the fierce 'Bo-bo-bos' we met the terrible 'Yaha-ha-has.' Any traveller who should succeed me would be certain to remark upon the fidelity of the novel classification. (*TDC* 2: 230)

By reducing his experience to a kind of Swiftean farce, and equating African language to the clamour of animal noise, Stanley obscures the individual identities of various tribes and races, and presents the reader with a cacophony of only superficially distinguishable grunts and cries. They are barbarians in the most literal sense. However, if we look to a later version of Stanley's narrative, the account of the Anglo-American expedition in his *Autobiography* (written after 1893, and edited and published posthumously by his wife Dorothy in 1909), we find a more nuanced meditation on African culture and communication. Another tribe on the Lualaba, where Stanley had previously encountered the 'Ooh-hu-hus', are this time assessed a little more creditably: 'They departed, singing the wildest, weirdest note I have ever heard. I subsequently discovered it to be a kind of savage-telegraphy, which I came to dread, as it always preceded trouble' (*A* 323). By reading the 'savage' expressions of the natives through an analogy with modern telecommunications, the apparently inarticulate barbaric cries (the 'Ooh-hu-hu' and the 'Bo-bo-bo') are now comparable to the dots and dashes of telegraphic communication, which, though senseless noise to the uninitiated, actually constitute a highly developed linguistic code. He continues:

> At every curve and bend they 'telephoned' along the river the warning signals; the forests on either bank flung hither and thither the strange echoes; their huge wooden drums sounded the muster of fierce resistance; reed arrows, tipped with poison, were shot at us from the jungle as we glided by. (*A* 324)

As Stanley describes how the Congolese natives 'telephoned' along the river, he is not simply applying the rhetoric of civilisation to describe the expressions of barbarism; he is specifically highlighting the very technologies (the telegraph, the telephone) which will bring about the anticipated 'civilisation' of the Congo, and will ultimately render the primordial and dreadful expressions of the native drums obsolete. Elsewhere he describes how 'the sonorous boom of the great war-drums was soon heard mustering every stray and loitering fisherman from the creeks, and every hunter from the woods that clothed the bank, to the war' – although he still claims ignorance as to the cause of 'the senseless hate and ferocity which appeared to animate these primitive aborigines' (*TDC* 2: 193). The message transmitted by 'savage telegraphy' is not one of complicity with the anticipated colonial project but rather, as Stanley clearly notes, 'the muster of fierce resistance.'

There were many reasons for the tribes along the Congo to resist the passage of travellers like Stanley. The explorer repeatedly remarks on the terror wrought upon native communities by well-armed parties of Arabs in search of ivory and slaves. Stanley and his caravan, similarly equipped and consisting mostly of Muslim Africans from Zanzibar and the Tanzanian coast, were inevitably mistaken for slave raiders by the native population, which had never before encountered a geographical expedition. Mary Kingsley in a later account of her travels in West Africa highlights a more pragmatic motivation for the violent resistance of 'aborigines' to European encroachment. Expeditions such as Stanley's, because of the great distances they traversed, were generally loaded down with cloth, beads and copper wire – the currencies of Central Africa – and when they bartered with these items, they effectively flooded the market with luxury goods, upsetting local economies and effacing the value of the capital possessed by local elites.[68] This was indeed the case in 1885, when the Belgian King, Leopold II (with Stanley's help) annexed the region as part of the Congo Free-State. The 'opening up' of the Congo to the light of European commerce led to the collapse of existing indigenous economies, an inevitable loss of local sovereignty,

[68] Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1897), p. 95

and the virtual enslavement of much of the indigenous population to the brutal colonial rubber trade.[69]

3.4 The Coming of the Wire

For Stanley progress was measured in miles of railroad and telegraph wire, and in public he spoke of 'the utter impossibility without a railway and telegraph of carrying out' the civilising project in Africa.[70] There were many schemes throughout the late-nineteenth century to lay overland telegraphic cables across the continent, and Stanley took a keen interest in them all. The most famous of these was the Cape to Cairo plan, which involved the laying of a cable between Britain's Cape Colony in South Africa and her dependency in Egypt. Cecil Rhodes, probably the most famous advocate of this scheme, was caricatured by *Punch* as the 'Rhodes Colossus', straddling the continent with a telegraph wire in his hands, anticipating a telegraphic miracle whereby the 'semi-civilised' settler colonies of the South could somehow bypass Central Africa to communicate directly with the European motherland.[71] Shortly after the Anglo-American expedition, the Scottish explorer James Augustus Grant (1827-1892) wrote to Stanley suggesting that the latter explore the region between the Zambezi and Uele rivers with a view to ascertaining 'whether this route is practicable for an overland line of telegraph between the Cape and Egypt'.[72] Stanley was, however, sceptical of any attempt to lay an overland telegraph through Africa without prior annexation of territory, not least because copper and iron telegraph wires would have been re-appropriated as currency by local populations.[73] Another famous African explorer, Sir Samuel Baker, expressed his scepticism in similar terms, and quipped that the idea of passing an iron wire through Central Africa was as foolish as laying 'a wire of gold from

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[69] For an overview of the scandals connected with the Congo Free State and the colonial rubber trade see Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: a Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1999). For an analysis of some contemporary travel accounts of the Congo Free State beginning with Stanley's EPRE see Robert M. Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities: Eyewitness Accounts of Colonialism in the Congo, Angola, and the Putumayo* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 22-97.

[70] H. M. Stanley, 'The Uganda Railway', *Saturday Review*, 79 (1895), 720.

[71] 'The Rhodes Colossus', *Punch*, 10 December 1892, p. 266-67. For more on the Cape to Cairo schemes see Peter Merrington, 'A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary', *Poetics Today* 22 (2001), 323-364.

[72] J. A. Grant to H. M. Stanley (7 June 1878). RMCA MS 2046.

[73] See H. M. Stanley to [John] Murray (9 Nov. 1877). RMCA TS 2479. Stanley noted a familiar phenomenon while travelling through Persia in 1869: 'The Persian peasant looks up to the wire as furnishing means for a wire cane, his wife thinks a couple of small pieces of it would make nice hooks for her pots and kettles, the caravan driver would like a piece of it to prick his donkey, or camel faster, and they shin up the pole and cut it' (*ET* 2: 322).

London to Inverness'.[74] In a letter to a South African colonial official, written just after the Anglo-American expedition, Stanley directly links the laying of telegraph cable with the project of imperial annexation, and also suggests that the most efficient mode of native resistance would be to sabotage this project.

> You must annex the Great Basin of the Congo-Lualaba before talking about constructing telegraphic lines[. . .] it will cause bloodshed and slaughter of many natives, before they have been taught to expect the Coming of the Wire, Ruanda, Urundi, and Unyoro will fight, no amount of money will lead them all at once to accept the wire as destiny. These countries occupy the very stronghold of barbarism they are populous and powerful and as yet they have not been even explored, and it would take 2000 armed men to teach them to let the wire alone.[75]

The annexation of the Congo is here seen as inevitable, as 'destiny', a scheme that heralds the portentous, revelatory arrival of the telegraph – 'the Coming of the Wire'. But if native violence can resist the infrastructural development of imperial authority, and if the message of 'fierce resistance' is most effectively voiced by indigenous technologies of communication, then perhaps the perfect antidote to the 'Coming of the Wire' *is* 'Savage Telegraphy'. As Laura Otis suggests, networks like the telegraph, and the kinds of discourse and metaphors they generate, can never be securely tied to a single ideology. The telegraphic web can 'convey the terrible efficiency of centralized power networks', but it can also highlight the 'importance of local bonds in any given region'. By networking, 'oppressed individuals anywhere in the system can resist the will of a remote tyrant'.[76] In Otis's version of the imperial network, the late-Victorian colonial world begins to resemble Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's 'decentered' and 'deterritorialized' Empire of globalisation.[77] From this perspective, the late-Victorian telegraphic network can be imagined as both an oppressive web of colonial surveillance and a rhizomatic matrix in which discrete nodes of power could become targets for strategic acts of local resistance.[78]

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[74] Quoted in Leo Weinthal, *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route from 1887 to 1922*, 5 Vols (London: Pioneer, 1923-1926), vol. III, p. 212.
[75] Stanley to [John] Goodliffe (9 Nov. 1877). RMCA MS 2478.
[76] Otis, p. 225-26.
[77] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. xiv-xv.
[78] '[Any] point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from a tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order. [. . .] A Rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles'. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. by Brian Massumi (1987; repr. London: Continuum, 2004), pp. 7-8.

Stanley's next major work, *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State* (1885), documents the explorer's attempt to 'build' a colony along the river for the Belgian monarch Leopold II. Stanley begins his account with a routine disavowal of pre-colonial African history, asserting that Congolese history began with 'the discovery of the mouth of the River Congo by Diego Cam', a fifteenth-century Portuguese explorer.[79] However, *The Congo* also contains some of Stanley's most intimate accounts of African culture and society, and is based on the experiences of a resident coloniser rather than the fleeting impressions of an itinerant explorer. It also contains a more detailed account of the 'savage telegraph'. At Stanley (Boyoma) Falls, on the upper-Congo, the explorer notes that although the Wenya (BaEna) tribe that occupies the islands between the cataracts 'have not yet adopted electric signals', they possess 'a system of communication quite as effective. Their huge drums, by being struck in different parts, convey language as clear to the initiated as vocal speech; and all the isles and every soul on them is told what transpires on each island hourly.'[80] Not only then are the drums 'quite as effective' as the electric telegraph, they are being utilised to transmit 'hourly' news reports.[81] The Anglican missionary A. B. Lloyd, in his exotically-titled travelogue *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country* (1899), offered an even more detailed and appreciative account of the 'talking drum' several years later.

> The Bangwa [. . .] have a most wonderful means of communicating the one to the other. Telegraphic messages, i.e., *wireless telegraphy!* are sent by means of curiously shaped drums which are made from the solid trunk of a tree some 5 feet in diameter, which is hollowed out most cleverly, and from it can be produced two distinct notes, and by varying these two notes they can convey messages to a neighbouring village. The sound travels almost like magic along the river, and so at almost incredible distances these drums can be heard. It therefore came about that long before I got to a village, the people knew of my approach; and as I came in view they communicated the news to the next village by means of the drum, and so on right down the river, 'The European is coming!'.[82]

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[79] Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State: A Tale of Work and Exploration* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1885), vol. I, p. 9. The Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão (Diego Cam) explored the mouth of the Congo c. 1485.

[80] Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. II, pp. 158-159.

[81] In 1949 the Baptist missionary J. F. Carrington cited this passage approvingly, and observed that 'the BaEna tribes still possess and use such talking drums.' J. F. Carrington, *The Talking Drums of Africa* (London: Carey Kingsgate, 1949), p. 8.

[82] A. B. Lloyd, *In Dwarf Land and Cannibal Country: A Record of Travel and Discovery in Central Africa* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), pp. 353-54.

Once again, the deciphered message constitutes an explicit warning against imperial encroachment. However, Lloyd credits the Bangwa with a technological achievement in advance of European technology ('*wireless telegraphy!*'), and even allows himself to occupy the traditional role of the ignorant savage who misreads technology as the effect of some uncanny supernatural power ('almost like magic').[83] The native is in possession of the rational scientific explanation of the technology, while the European struggles with his primitive superstitions. As Roger Luckhurst has shown, 'in territories where Western communications had not yet reached, or where stretched to their limit, occult systems took over', and many explorers and colonists were surprisingly quick to accept the efficacy of supernatural means of communication; a belief which undercut the technocratic assumption that 'modern communication systems spread light and stamped out native superstition'. [84]

Like Morse code, the West African 'talking drum' and the wooden 'slit gong' (Fig. 3.1) use a binary signalling system (high/low or strong/weak). However, these patterns imitate the tonal contours of stock phrases in the Bantu languages of the region, rather than spelling out the vowels and consonants.[85] As Walter J. Ong has noted, these talking drums or 'idiophones', unlike the telegraph, directly represent the patterns of forms of the spoken word and as such represent 'the most highly developed acoustic speech surrogates known around the world'. Ong suggests that through the use of stereotyped poetical phrases, such languages represent a strategy for 'acquiring, formulating, storing, and retrieving knowledge' within non-literate African communities.[86] In this sense, it could be argued that the African drum languages always communicate through a shared tradition of memory and affect. According to the missionary and talking-drum initiate John L. Carrington, the agents of European colonial power are referred to in terms of their historical effects in several Bantu drum languages. Thus in the Bangwa drum language (described by Lloyd above) a colonial official is *mengeki wa likula limete* (he to whom the land belongs). In Cameroon it is the more ominous *awo bode ntuk, awo bode ntuk allane nnama nnome* (he enslaves the people, he enslaves the people which remain in the land). Most intriguingly,

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[83] For several contemporary examples of racist jokes which portray non-white races as mystified or terrified by electrical technologies see Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking About Electric Communication in the Late-Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 19, 33.
[84] Luckhurst, p. 156. For examples of contemporary comparisons between telepathic and telegraphic communication at the imperial periphery see Ibid., pp. 157-60.
[85] Walter J. Ong, 'African Talking Drums and Oral Noetics', *New Literary History*, 8 (1977), 411-29 (pp. 414-19); James Gleick, *The Information: a History, a Theory, a Flood* (London: Fourth Estate, 2011), p. 18-26. The drum-language could also be communicated by woodwinds, whistles, stringed instruments and even the human voice – which perhaps explains Stanley's encounter with the 'Bo-Bo-Bos'. Carrington, pp. 74-80.
[86] Ong, p. 411.

the Mbole (on the Lualaba where Stanley first encountered 'savage telegraphy') refer to *bosongo okumaka atale* (the white man sent by *Bula Matale*).[87] *Bula Matale* is the Swahili for the 'breaker of rocks', a nickname enthusiastically adopted by Stanley during his time in the Congo and with which (he claimed in 1885) 'all natives of the Congo [were] familiar.'[88] Significantly, Ong suggests that the stereotyped phrases of Bantu drum languages are comparable to the use of epithets in Homeric poetry.[89] Stanley could play the lyric Demodocus, and the international community of readers created by the periodicals generated new patterns of identification and affect, but the 'savage telegraph' demonstrated how indigenous African telecommunications systems were communicating narratives of resistance through an affective community of drum-telegraphers and code-readers.

As C. A. Bayly has noted, successful colonial administrations did not succeed by simply effacing the indigenous 'information order'; the 'conquerors needed to reach into and manipulate the indigenous systems of communication in new colonies'.[90] To this end the 'civilisation' of the Congo was not simply about replacing the talking drums with telegraphs, as Lloyd noted in 1899:

> The Belgian officers use this method of communication with the natives, always keeping a drum on the station and a man that can beat it. Thus, when the supply of rubber is getting small, a telegraphic message is at once despatched to the village chief to acquaint him of the fact and to remind him that he must bring in some more.[91]

As Bayly and others have shown, despite the rhetorical insistence on the temporal alterity of the native, the quotidian practicalities of colonial administration called for an active engagement with indigenous technologies and modernities. The modernity of the exploration narrative is not always about the process of 'modernising' and 'making known' and, as Clare Pettitt suggests, the encounter between the European traveller and the indigenous Central African represented not so much the 'collision of the ancient with the modern, or the savage with the civilised [. . .] as the collision of modernity with modernity'.[92] Such equivalencies disturb the universalising colonial project. For Stanley, Africans were biologically equivalent yet culturally inferior to Europeans, but the idea that

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[87] Carrington, p. 51.
[88] Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. I, p. 148. Stanley usually spells the name 'Bula Matari'.
[89] Ong, p. 417.
[90] C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 6.
[91] Lloyd, p. 354.
[92] Pettitt, p. 171.

Central Africa may have had its own parallel narrative of progress, development and modernisation presented a difficulty and disrupted the liberal assessment of Africans as *potential* Europeans. However, as Lloyd's example illustrates, while such relativistic practices may anticipate the critique of Eurocentric ideologies in the postcolonial era, they nonetheless proved perfectly serviceable as strategies of domination *within* some of the most brutal and exploitative colonial regimes.

3.5 Unspeakable Eloquence

In his private field journal, written while the Anglo-American expedition was still deep in the upper reaches of the Congo (ten days after his encounter with the 'savage telegraph'), Stanley directly addressed the relative merits of savage and civilised society:

> It has often struck me forcibly that but a thin line separates the savage from the civilised man – from a moral point of view [. . .]. The only thing in my opinion that distinguishes the civilised man from the savage is his practicability, or having been broken to harness. All other external differences: submissiveness to law, feeling of society, or public opinion, his religion, his charities, his industrial skill, are the results of being tamed, & bitted by law & order [. . .]. For the civilised man's locomotive the savage can only show his feet. For the former's steam ship, he exhibits a canoe. For the former's cannon & rifle, the latter shows his bow and spear. For the former's telegraph the latter shows his drum […] only for [. . .] pulpit preaching & newspapers can the savage show nothing. The love of disseminating [. . .] information has not yet developed itself in the African Savage.[93]

While he goes some way towards critiquing the assumed hierarchy of races here, Stanley also prefigures the tactics of imperial rule: the colonial subject must be tamed by foreign laws and simultaneously 'bitted' to the harness of industrial capitalism. Theoretically there may be no qualitative difference between European and African civilisation, but from the perspective of the pragmatic imperialist, the symbols and props which signify African culture (the canoe, the spear, the talking drum) must be replaced by their Anglo-Saxon industrial equivalents (the steam ship, the canon, the telegraph). Foremost among these are the technologies which contribute to the speedy dissemination of information. Stanley acknowledges that 'the savage' possesses technologies for the transmission of information (for 'the…telegraph the latter shows his drum') but he denies that the African has yet

[93] H. M. Stanley, Journal (30 November 1876). RMCA MS 18.

manifested a 'desire' to broadcast information within a public sphere ('pulpit preaching & newspapers'). For Stanley, the savage is primitive not because he lacks media *technology*, but because he lacks media *instincts*.

In the region of Uregga, again on the upper reaches of the Congo, Stanley credits the natives with a more evolved system of communication: 'The people have much traditional lore […] from one generation to another, something has been communicated and learned, showing that even the jungle man is a progressive and an improvable animal' (*TDC* 2: 111). Stanley's assessment of the African as an 'improvable animal' is undoubtedly patronising and racist, and even his approval of some of the more 'progressive' aspects of African culture are bound up with the anticipated colonial project. His appreciation of African lore, however, was not entirely disingenuous. *Through the Dark Continent* contains many decentering experiences for Stanley, most notably his extended stay with Mtesa (Mutesa I), *Kabaka* of Buganda. Stanley offers an appreciative and complimentary portrait of this 'Foremost Man of Equatorial Africa' and includes a whole chapter on the mythology and colonial pre-history of the Kingdom of Buganda, a 'monarchy of no mean antiquity' (*TDC* 1: 270-98). Impressed by the 'half civilised' culture of Mutesa's court, Stanley carefully outlines the political and social structure of Bugandan society and – in a neat reversal of Mary Louise Pratt's formulation – even declares the view from Mutesa's 'palace' to be 'worthy of the imperial eyes of the African monarch' (*TDC* 1: 157). Stanley compares his impressions with those of a former visitor to Buganda, the explorer John Hanning Speke.

> If I remember rightly, Speke described a youthful prince, vain and heartless, a wholesale murderer and tyrant, one who delighted in fat women. Doubtless he described what he saw, but it is far from being the state of things now. Mtesa has impressed me as being an intelligent and distinguished prince, who, if aided in time by virtuous philanthropists, will do more for Central Africa than fifty years of Gospel teaching, unaided by such authority, can do. I think I see in him the light that shall lighten the darkness of this benighted region; a prince well worthy of the most hearty sympathies that Europe can give him. In this man I see the possible fruition of Livingstone's hopes, for with his aid the civilisation of Equatorial Africa becomes feasible. (*TDC* 1: 151-52)

In Stanley's appeal to the 'most hearty sympathies' of his readers we hear an echo of Disraeli's call for the English people to respond to the 'distant sympathies' of the colonies. The practical motivations behind Stanley's praise for the African ruler are fairly transparent. The reader is asked to acknowledge Mutesa's achievements and appreciate his potential as a

facilitator of British colonial interests. Of course, Buganda was not sealed off from the outside world, and it had had a complex history of interactions with other African regions and with the Arab explorers, merchants, missionaries of the East African coast. Stanley acknowledges the positive effect wrought on Mutesa by his exposure to Islam, but nonetheless pledges to 'destroy his belief [. . .] and teach the doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth' (*TDC* 1: 151-52). To this end, Stanley gradually attempted to persuade Mutesa of the superiority of Christianity to Islam – while simultaneously stressing the political and military advantages of an alliance with well-armed white men. On his departure, Stanley left the emperor with 'an abridged protestant Bible in Kiswahili' – a handwritten tome which the explorer had hastily assembled in collaboration with a Bugandan scribe (*TDC* 1 :252) – a detail that inspired W. T. Stead to quip that Stanley had weaned Mutesa from his Islamic convictions with a '*Telegraphese* version of the Bible'.[94]

The term 'telegraphese' is an interesting one. It was frequently used when lampooning the melodramatic and florid prose of the *Telegraph* leader-writers like G. A. Sala and Edwin Arnold, but in this context it seems to refer to the laconic concision of the telegram, a medium in which words cost money. As the *Telegraph*'s great rival, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, put it, 'Electric Telegraphese is as short and spare as Daily Telegraphese is longwinded and redundant'.[95] Indeed this ambivalent signifier serves as a fitting description of Stanley's literary style, which frequently see-saws between the florid and picturesque mode of the newspaper correspondent and the succinct and fragmented form of the travel diary.[96]

Stanley's stirring letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of 15 November 1875, which presented Buganda as a 'semi-civilised' region ripe for exploitation by both missionaries and capitalists set in motion a colonial scramble in miniature. Before Stanley had even emerged at the mouth of the Congo in 1878, Protestant missionaries were already arriving in Buganda, hotly pursued by French Jesuits and the British Imperial East Africa Company. As Stanley predicted, Mutesa was accommodating to this difficult influx of competitors, Arab, European, Christian and capitalist; however, his son and successor Mwanga became frustrated with the meddling and squabbling of the missionaries. Between 1885 and 1887 approximately 20 Catholics and 15 Protestants were 'martyred' by the Bugandan regime, an

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[94] [W.T. Stead], 'Character Sketch: January', *Review of Reviews*, 1(1890), 20-27 (p. 23).
[95] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 Sept. 1885, p. 2.
[96] These two registers are best exemplified in the first edition of *IDA* (London: Sampson Low, 1890), in which some of Stanley's most melodramatic apostrophes are juxtaposed with large swathes of terse notes transcribed directly from his field journals. Thomas Richards notes Stanley's recourse to 'telegraphic' and fragmented prose in IDA. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 135. Although conversely, A. J. Mounteney-Jephson, an officer on the EPRE, complained of Stanley's 'flowery descriptions' and 'absurdly exaggerated style'. Dorothy Middleton (ed.), *The Diary of A. J. Mounteney-Jephson: Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1887-1889* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 390.

event which precipitated the formal annexation of Uganda as a British protectorate in 1894.[97] However, Stanley's positive assessment of the Kingdom of Buganda had a surprising afterlife. In 1960 when the Kingdom sent its official 'Termination of Protection' to Queen Elizabeth II in order to indicate its desire for self-rule, the authors interpolated a large chunk from Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* as evidence of the region's pre-colonial sovereignty.[98] Further examples of Stanley's acknowledgment of (and engagement with) indigenous African culture can be seen in his 1893 publication *My Dark Companions and their Strange Stories*, a collection of Central African folktales and fables collected on previous expeditions – many of them from the courtiers of Mutesa.[99] Several of these stories were published in the *Fortnightly Review*, a further indication perhaps that 'timeless' African lore and modern British Periodical culture were not entirely incompatible and that indigenous voices were being heard – albeit in heavily mediated forms – in the midst of the imperial metropolis.[100]

In his descriptions of African iteration, communication, and translation, in his acknowledgement of a system of 'savage telegraphy', Stanley portrays important moments of native resistance by means of performance, rhetoric and violence. Admittedly the authenticity of these sentiments is problematic, passed on to us as they are through the medium of Stanley's imperialist and racist discourse; nevertheless, Stanley's writings inspired later authors and scholars to challenge the myths of the 'Dark Continent' which he had done much to promote. This was not because Stanley provided an argument against empire – he did his utmost to promote it – but because, despite his prejudices, he provided a detailed account of a culturally diverse and politically complex African continent. This literary record would later form the empirical basis for a variety of epistemological critiques of European imperialism and the challenge the European monopoly on 'modernity' and 'civilisation'.

Stanley was a particular hero of the poet, radical and mystic Gerald Massey (1828-1907), who wrote a series of voluminous tracts on the language and history of ancient Egypt in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Massey argued that the Nile valley was the source of all civilisation and that the glories of classical Greece and Rome were but an

[97] David E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom of Uganda: A Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism* (London: Frank Cass, 1967), pp. 65-70.
[98] Apter, pp. 479-488.
[99] H. M. Stanley, *My Dark Companions and their Strange Stories* (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1893).
[100] H. M. Stanley, 'African Legends', *Fortnightly Review*, 53 (1893), 797-828.

'after-glow' of the indigenous black civilisation of ancient Egypt.[101] Like Stanley, Massey saw no contradiction in lauding the achievements of African civilisation and simultaneously supporting the aggressive annexation of colonial territories. He even praised Stanley's controversial EPRE in a valedictory ode.[102] Nonetheless, Massey used Stanley's ethnographic accounts of Central Africa as an empirical base on which to build his thesis that 'the negro race [. . .] became a civilized and cultured people, sent out colonies all over the world, and spread "mythology, religion, symbols, language", and all that civilization implies, to the uttermost ends of the earth'.[103] In one of the typically tenuous exercises in comparative philology from his *Book of Beginnings* (1881), Massey 'translates' the seemingly inarticulate cries of Stanley's 'Bo-Bo-Bos' into ancient Egyptian.

> Stanley describes the muster for an attack on his party, and says the enemy 'came on boasting, Meat! meat! we shall have meat today; we shall have plenty of meat! *Bo-bo-bo-bo Bo-bo-bo-bo-ooh*!' *Buu* is the Egyptian boast, and *bu-bu*, *ba-ba*, or *bo-bo*, signifies *boasting*...In another instance the cries of the battle onset were '*Oohhu-hu Ooh-hu Ooh-hu-hu*.' In Egyptian *ua-ua* means hurl yourselves on them! and 'Hu-hu-hu-hu' reads strike! drive! seize! pluck![104]

Although Massey was an eccentric figure, always on the margins of respectable scholarship in Britain, his strident rejection of the Aryan model and 'restitution' of Africa as the cradle of civilization provided a liberating counter-narrative for a later generation of African-American scholars. Since the 1930s, when John G. Jackson (one of the fathers of Afrocentrism) praised Massey's 'monumental works', Massey's Egyptological works have been enthusiastically rehabilitated and consistently cited by a range of Afrocentric scholars.[105]

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, historians and authors of African descent were already tackling imperial myths head on. When the African-American soldier-turned-politician George Washington Williams (1849-91) sought evidence to rewrite the history of his race and rehabilitate 'the Negro' as historical subject, he found much of what he was looking for in the very texts which had done the most to popularise the myth of the 'Dark Continent'. The major sources on African culture and history in Williams's *History of*

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[101] Gerald Massey, 'Ancient Egypt', *My Lyrical Life: Poems Old and New* (London: Watts and Co., 1896), vol. I, p. 82.
[102] Gerald Massey, 'Stanley's Way', *My Lyrical Life*, vol. I, pp. 373-4.
[103] The quotation is a summary of Massey's *Book of Beginnings* (1881) from a review in the *Scotsman*, 21 May 1881, p. 11.
[104] Gerald Massey, *A Book of Beginnings* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1881), vol. II, p. 632.
[105] J. G. Jackson, *Man, God and Civilization* (New Hyde Park NY: University Books, 1972), p. 195. For more on Massey's adoption by later Afrocentrists see Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism: Mystical Pasts and Imagined Homes* (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 221, 253, 258.

the Negro Race (1882) are the accounts of white explorers, such as Winwood Reade, David Livingstone and Henry Morton Stanley. Williams quotes Stanley extensively 'in proof of the noble nature of the Negro' and cites the explorer as a reliable witness to the complexities of Central African languages and the 'stout-hearted, brave, and faithful' character of African 'natives'.[106] Although Stanley, as we have seen, had doubts about the expressive abilities of indigenous Africans, Williams cites *Through the Dark Continent* in support of his claim that 'great majority of Negroes in Africa are both orators and logicians'.[107] As Williams's deep praise for Stanley suggests, the affective community which Stanley's narratives created was not as racially exclusive as we might assume.

> How many times we have read this marvellous narrative of Stanley's march through the Dark Continent, we do not know; but we do know that every time we have read it with tears and emotion, have blessed the noble Stanley, and thanked God for the grand character of his black followers! There is no romance equal to these two volumes. The trip was one awful tragedy from beginning to end, and the immortal deeds of his untutored guards are worthy of the famous *Light Brigade*.[108]

Of course, we should note the fact that Williams and Stanley share certain cultural assumptions as American Christians of the nineteenth century. Despite his sympathies with indigenous Africans, Williams unambiguously supported the mission to bring 'commerce and Christianity' to Central Africa.[109] When he visited the Congo Free State for himself in 1890, however, he became quickly disillusioned with the European 'civilising' mission in Africa. Williams died in Liverpool on his return journey from Congo but the last thing he wrote was an open letter to Leopold II from Stanley Falls, in which he denounced the brutalities of the Belgian administration and condemned Stanley as a vicious tyrant who had 'grossly misrepresented the character of the country'.[110] Williams also reported stories

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[106] George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1819-1880. Negroes as Slaves, Soldiers and as Citizens* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1882), p. 73.
[107] Williams, pp. 67-68, 71, 74.
[108] Williams, p. 73.
[109] Stanley later claimed in an interview (*New York Herald*, 14 April 1891) that in 1884 Williams had applied to him for a position with the Congo Free State administration and that he had recommended Williams to Leopold II. Qtd. in John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: a Biography* (Duke University Press, 1998), p. 208.
[110] George Washington Williams, 'An Open Letter to his Serene Majesty Leopold II', qtd. in Franklin, pp. 243-54 (p. 252). According to Burroughs, Williams's letter was the 'first published eyewitness attack on the Congo Free State'. *Travel Writing and Atrocities*, p. 17. Stanley responded by calling Williams's pamphlet 'a deliberate attempt at Blackmail' (Franklin p. 208). This can hardly be true since Williams had already circulated his letter widely in Europe. Hochschild also assesses Williams's role in the broader context of the Congo Free State atrocities and the burgeoning Congo Reform movement (pp. 101-114).

of some extraordinary 'sleight of hand tricks', which Stanley was said to have used years earlier when making 'treaties' with the Congolese chiefs.

> A number of electric batteries had been purchased in London, and when attached to the arm under the coat, communicated with a band of ribbon which passed over the palm of the white brother's hand, and when he gave the black brother a cordial grasp of the hand the black brother was greatly surprised to find his white brother so strong, that he nearly knocked him off his feet in giving him the hand of fellowship.[111]

This electrical ruse reads like a cynical perversion of the principles of transatlantic sociability which had united John and Jonathon and Stanley and Livingstone (see Chapter 2). While the buzzing wires of the telegraphic nervous system had bound the Anglo-Saxon fraternity in mutual accord and sympathy, Stanley's electrical battery is a weapon which underlines difference and distances black from white.

However, despite the condemnation of a prominent black historian, several years later Stanley would once again be recruited by African Americans in the battle to undermine racism. In *Through the Dark Continent*, Stanley had described a market in the Nayngwé region of the Western Congo:

> And how like any other marketplace it was! with [sic] its noise and murmur of human voices. The same rivalry in extolling their wares, the eager quick action, the emphatic gesture, the inquisitive look, the facial expressions of scorn and triumph, anxiety, joy, plausibility, were all there. I discovered, too, the surprising fact that the aborigines of Manyema possess just the same inordinate ideas in respect to their wares as London, Paris and New York shopkeepers. Perhaps the Manyema people are not so voluble, but they compensate for lack of language by gesture and action, which are unspeakably eloquent. (*TDC* 2. 94-95)

Again, we see the ambiguity in Stanley's assessment of the communicative faculties of Africans. Their gestures are emphatic, their looks expressive, they are comparable to any merchant of London, Paris and New York, and yet still we observe the carefully placed caveats which seem to undercut the praise. The gestures of the native compensate for a 'lack of language', their eloquence is – in the paradoxical final phrase – 'unspeakable'. In 1915, however, another great African-American scholar (and a disciple of Williams), W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), drew on Stanley's account of the 'unspeakably eloquent'

[111] Williams, 'Open Letter', p. 244.

merchants of Manyema in his own account of pre-colonial African civilisation in *The Negro* (1915).[112] Du Bois is one of the pioneers of an intellectual tradition that takes in the civil rights movement, pan-Africanism, and negritude and he is justifiably regarded as an influential opponent of the rhetoric and ideologies of colonialism. However, even though he is elsewhere sharply critical of Stanley's state-building activities in the Congo, he nonetheless relies on the testimony of white explorers as the empirical base from which to launch his epistemological intervention into the historiography of race.[113]

3.6 'Real and Pure Sympathy'

Like *How I Found Livingstone*, *Through the Dark Continent* also has its fair share of tears. We begin with the death of the Livingstone and the text is punctuated with the deaths of Stanley's three white companions: Frederick Baker, and Frank and Edward Pocock. These emotional events provide moments of reflection and meditation. The adventure narrative is momentarily paused, allowing the narrator to reflect on his mission and the reader to consider the fate of these selfless martyrs to geographical knowledge. Stanley's companions are memorialised by elaborately engraved plates (Fig. 3.2, 3.3). These visual intrusions on the text stand in place of the monuments the men are denied. In the chapter which describes the death by drowning of Stanley's last remaining white companion, Francis Pockock, at the Zinga Falls on the Congo, Stanley's tone of piety is emphasised by an epigram from the closing lines of Thomas Gray's sonnet 'On the Death of Richard West': 'I fruitless mourn to him who cannot hear, / And weep the more because I weep in vain' (*TDC* 2: 393). These lines from Gray, the most funerary of English poets, mark the appropriate observance of mourning, while also emphasising the limitations of grief and the dangers of expending excessive emotion and energy on fruitless tears for one 'who cannot hear'. Stanley vividly recounts his 'choking sensation of unutterable grief' but also describes how the news of Pocock's death impacted on the African members of the

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[112] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (1915; repr. New York: Dover, 2001), p. 71. For more on Du Bois's appreciation of African exploration narratives (including works by Winwood Reade and Richard Burton) see Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University press, 2007), p. 161 and Robin Law, 'Du Bois as a Pioneer of African History: A Reassessment of The Negro (1915)' in *Re-cognizing W. E. B. Du Bois in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Mary Keller and Chester J. Fontenot (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), pp. 15-33.

[113] Du Bois, pp. 45, 82. Pan-Africanism was not inherently anti-colonial and many Pan-Africanists favoured a black-led colonial project over African independence. On Du Bois's role in Pan-African movement and his advocacy of African-American colonial projects in West Africa see Jeannette Eileen Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 106-126.

expedition and – more surprisingly – on the previously hostile natives of the Congo cataracts.

> Sympathy, real and pure sympathy, was here offered [. . .] which, though rude, was not unkind. The large crowds without spoke together in low subdued tones, the women gazed upon me with mild eyes, and their hands upon their lips, as though sincerely affected by the tragic fate of my companion. (*TDC* 2: 405)

The infectious grief provoked by the death of the white man suggests that there is hope for the expansion of Anglo-Saxon sensibility as Stanley's Anglo-American readers find their sentiments echoed by 'rude' but sincere sympathies of the African 'savage'. Despite the resistance that characterised much of Stanley's journey down the Congo – or perhaps in response *to* this resistance – Stanley tirelessly represents a traffic in sympathy which transcends racial and cultural boundaries. His account of the punitive 'war' on Bumbireh in the *Daily Telegraph* concludes with the victorious party returning triumphantly to the expedition's base camp at Kagehyi on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza.

> As the keel grounded, over fifty men bounded to the water, dragged me from the boat, and danced me round camp on their shoulders, amid much laughter, clapping of hands, grotesque wriggling of human forms, and Saxon hurrahing. Having vented their gladness, they set me down, and all formed a circle, many deep, to hear the news, which was given with less detail than I have had the honour to write to you.[114]

Here the Wangwana and the Wanyamwezi are depicted celebrating in solidarity with their Saxon 'masters'. However, their liminal status is highlighted by the mode in which their sympathy is manifested: a mixture of 'grotesque wriggling' and manly 'Saxon hurrahing'. Once more, however, it is the shared consumption of 'news' – as purveyed by the *Telegraph*'s own Demodocus – which serves as the solvent for sympathy, as the Euro-American metropolitan readers of the *Telegraph* and the *Herald* find themselves reflected in the 'circle' of African listeners on the lake shore.

At the emotional climax of the quest narrative, Stanley describes how, in August 1877, the expedition was marooned tantalizingly close to the coast, two days march from the Portuguese trading port of Embomma. Harrowed by hunger, Stanley and the Zanzibaris were unable to gather enough strength to make the final trek to the coast. On 4 August

[114] *Daily Telegraph*, 7 August 1876, p. 2.

1877, he wrote a desperate letter pleading for supplies and addressed hopefully to 'any Gentleman who speaks English at Embomma'. The letter was entrusted to four of his most senior porters, Uledi, Kachéché, Munini Pembé, and Robert Feruzi (an English-speaking Christian convert from the Missionary School at Zanzibar). To avoid any possible confusion, Stanley added a postscript confirming that he was 'the person who had discovered Livingstone in 1871' (*TDC* 2: 346-47). Two days later a convoy returned with sufficient supplies of rice and fish for all and a special hamper of luxuries reserved for Stanley (filled with 'Pale ale! Sherry! Port wine! Champagne! [. . .] White loaf-sugar! Sardines and salmon! Plum-pudding! Currant, gooseberry, and raspberry jam!'). 'Never did gaunt Africa appear so unworthy and so despicable before my eyes', writes Stanley, 'as now, when imperial Europe rose before my delighted eyes and showed her boundless treasures of life, and blessed me with her stores.' (*TDC* 2: 354). In drafting his letter of thanks to the Portuguese and English merchants, Stanley admits that he is unable to express his 'confused' emotions. As the 'the old and the young, men, women and children lifted up their wearied, wornout frames and began to chant lustily an extemporaneous song in honour of the white people by the great sea', Stanley confesses, 'I had to rush to my tent to hide the tears that would flow despite all my attempts at composure.'[115] Here again we have the play between emotional expression and restraint, but whereas before it was Livingstone who was the object and the audience of Stanley's overflowing emotions, he is now forced to conceal his emotions from his African 'followers'.

However, as Stanley notes, the fulfilment of the mission requires the explorer to once again embrace the fellowship of 'imperial Europe' and reject the hybrid affinities of 'gaunt Africa'. Just as Marlow had experienced Kurtz as a transcendent voice amidst the savagery, it is on Stanley's dramatic return to civilisation at Embomma that he encounters the most marvellously skilled and sympathetic communicators.

> [T]here was something very self-possessed about the carriage of these white men. It was grand; a little self-pride mixed with cordiality. I could not remember just then that I had witnessed such bearing among any tribe throughout Africa. They spoke well also; the words they uttered hit the sense pat; without gesture, they were perfectly intelligible. How strange! It was quite delightful to observe the slight nods of the head; the intelligent facial movements were admirably expressive. (*TDC* 2: 358)

[115] Stanley to Motta Vega and J. M. Harrison, 8 August 1877. Bennett, *Stanley's Despatches*, pp. 340-41. This letter was also published in the *New York Herald* on 12 Oct. 1877 and a variant is included in *TDC* 2: 459-60.

Whether they speak 'without gesture' or make their meaning known through 'slight nods', the white men are always 'perfectly intelligible'. In fact the emphasis on the physical performance of language – the 'intelligent facial movements' and self possessed carriage – suggest that Stanley is perhaps more biologically deterministic in his evaluation of the white man's communicative abilities than he would care to admit. His re-entry to civilisation is accompanied by a return to the domain of expression, a progression from the bestial *sounds* of Africa to the expressive *language* of Europe.

His reintegration into civilised society was not, however, as straightforward as he had initially anticipated. His description of the wondrously expressive merchants continues: 'As I looked into their faces, I blushed to find that I was wondering at their paleness [. . .] The pale colour, after so long gazing on rich black and richer bronze, had something of an unaccountable ghastliness' (*TDC* 2: 358). In order to re-enter civilisation Stanley must withdraw from identification with his African comrades. He must re-other them. As he continues to gaze at the Europeans, the transfigurative power of civilisation slowly works its magic on him. In his dishevelled state, however, he does not as yet feel 'upon an equality' with the other white men: 'the calm blue and grey eyes rather awed me, and the immaculate purity of their clothes dazzled me' (*TDC* 2: 358). For the moment Stanley settles for an extraordinary compromise: 'I was content to suppose myself a kind of connecting link between the white and the African for the time being' (*TDC* 2: 358). Is this the kind of experience imagined by Homi Bhabha, in which the 'interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy?'[116] Or is Stanley merely unable to identify either with the African or the white man at this moment? He has turned his back on what he calls the 'horrors left behind' but he is not yet ready to re-enter European civilisation, or as he terms it, to be welcomed 'amongst the descendents of Japhet' (*TDC* 2: 358-59). Stanley's interstitial experience is categorised by alienation rather than identification.

He tellingly overcomes this crisis of identity and inertia of feeling by re-establishing his connection with the metropolis and by attempting to reintegrate himself within the modern media world of telegraphs and periodicals. 'I had to write my despatches to the journals', he explains, in order to 'to re-establish those bonds of friendship and sympathetic communion that had been severed by the lapse of dark years and long months of silence.' (*TDC* 2: 363). The closing passages of *Through the Dark Continent*, however, focus not on

[116] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 5.

Stanley's triumphant return to Britain but on his parting with his African comrades at Zanzibar.

> They were sweet and sad moments, those of parting. What a long, long and true friendship was here sundered! [. . .] And in a flood of sudden recollection, all the stormy period here ended rushed in upon my mind; the whole panorama of danger and tempest through which these gallant fellows had so staunchly stood by me — these gallant fellows now parting from me. Rapidly, as in some apocalyptic vision, every scene of strife with Man and Nature through which these poor men and women had borne me company, and solaced me by the simple sympathy of common suffering, came hurrying across my memory; for each face before me was associated with some adventure or some peril, reminded me of some triumph or of some loss. What a wild, weird retrospect it was, that mind's flash over the troubled past! So like a troublous dream! (*TDC* 2: 373).[117]

Even some of Stanley's critics were struck by these closing passages. In its review of *Through the Dark Continent*, the *Athenæum* censured Stanley for his violent behaviour during the 'deplorable affair' at Bumbireh, but noted that, as a writer, he was 'at his best when delineating native character'. Nothing could be 'more touching', concluded the reviewer, 'than the scenes which were enacted when Mr. Stanley's followers [. . .] took a final leave of him'.[118] The Methodist *London Quarterly Review* was unambiguous in its praise of Stanley, and saw the explorer's account as 'suggestive of the true relation in which western civilisation should stand, and is intended by Providence to stand, toward the much enduring African race'. 'What Anglo-Saxon enterprise dares to initiate', the reviewer concluded, 'African patience and tenacity will by Him be guided to consummate'.[119]

3.7 Conclusion

Interracial sympathy in no way undermines the imperial project. Sympathy and sentiment, as Darwin conceives them, become the means by which the diverse human races are re-aggregated into a progressive single entity. And Darwin, like Stanley, never conceals his conviction that this unified progressive society will follow the lead of Anglo-Saxon

[117] Stanley's last line is a possibly an echo of Gloucester in *Henry VI, Part II*: 'My troublous dreams this night doth make me sad' (1. 2).
[118] 'Stanley's Journey across Africa', *Athenæum*, 8 June 1878, pp. 723-24.
[119] 'Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent"', *London Quarterly Review*, 51 (1879), 313-45 (pp. 343-345).

civilisation, religion and culture. Postcolonial models of imperial discourse – in the Saidean tradition – have illustrated how power is manifested through an imaginative topography/geography of a subject people. In such models, power is partly reliant on the disconnectedness between the discursively constructed object and the real colonial subject. In Stanley and Darwin's models of imperial sensibility, however, the colonising power gains its strength from a sincere curiosity about indigenous peoples and an intimate knowledge of their culture, language and emotional life.

As one of the great campaigners against the European exploitation of Africa, the Congo Reform journalist E. D. Morel, makes clear, the rhetoric of sympathy could be exploited by the most unprincipled practitioners of the New Imperialism. Referring to King Leopold's hypocritical presentation of his annexation and exploitation of the Congo Free State as a 'philanthropic enterprise', Morel recalls how 'Stanley came over to this country as his mouth-piece, and — doubtless quite sincerely at the time — chided his audience for a latent scepticism, or lack of "sentiment."' As Morel was keenly aware, the exploitation of the Congo was promoted by Stanley's insistent appeals to that 'restless, ardent, vivifying and expensive sentiment which seeks to extend civilizing influence among the dark places of sad-browed Africa'.[120]

The fact that Stanley's text, through its attempts to describe, represent and categorize the other, could give rise to such diverse, and sometimes contradictory, responses indicates that the mythology of the 'Dark Continent' is perhaps more malleable, ambivalent and contested than we might imagine. In this sense, it has much in common with the encoded messages of the telegraph. As Paul Gilmore has suggested, 'while new technologies have been mobilized in the service of a progress dependent upon the oppression of racial others', they have also enabled oppressed groups to re-imagine 'progress in more emancipatory and egalitarian ways'.[121] As the examples of Williams and Du Bois illustrate, the many inconsistencies, vagaries, and digressions in Stanley's text offer spaces from which colonial ideology can be deconstructed and resisted. The complex code of resistance spelt out by the 'savage telegraph' can stand as a critique of the white mythology of Anglo-Saxon technocracy and progress. The exploration narrative is a textual space in which temporal concepts like the primitive and the modern are both constructed and contested. In this sense, *Through the Dark Continent* anticipates not only the colonisation

[120] E. D. Morel, *Red Rubber*. New and Revised Edition (1906; repr. London: National Labour Press, 1920), p. 135.
[121] Paul Gilmore, 'The Telegraph in Black and White', *ELH*, 69 (2002), 805-33 (pp. 826, 806).

of Africa by technologically enabled European powers, but also native resistance to such schemes and the national liberation struggles and decolonisation to come.

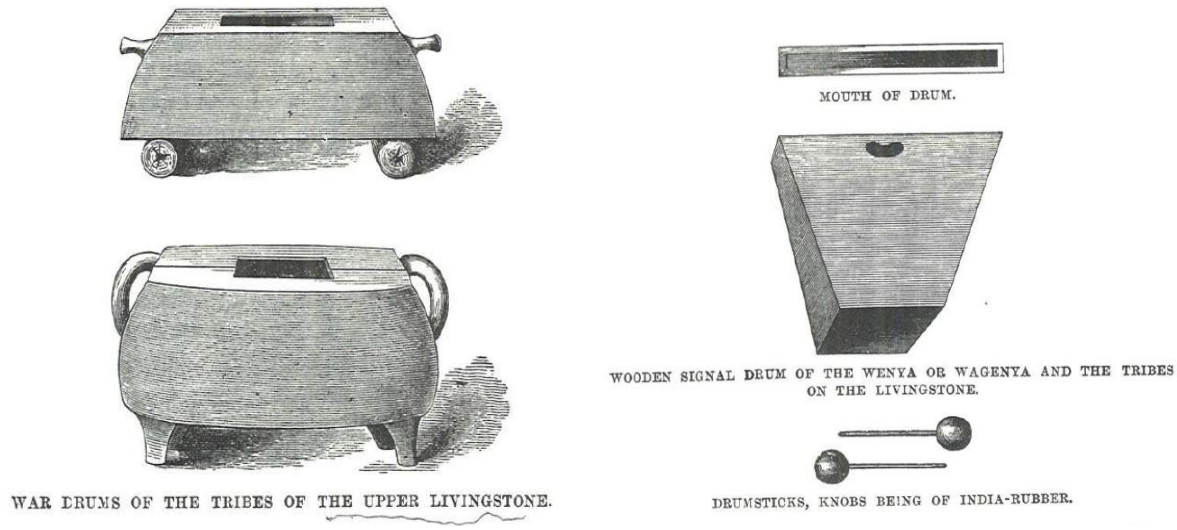

Fig. 3.1: Slit-gongs and 'talking drums'. From Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1878).

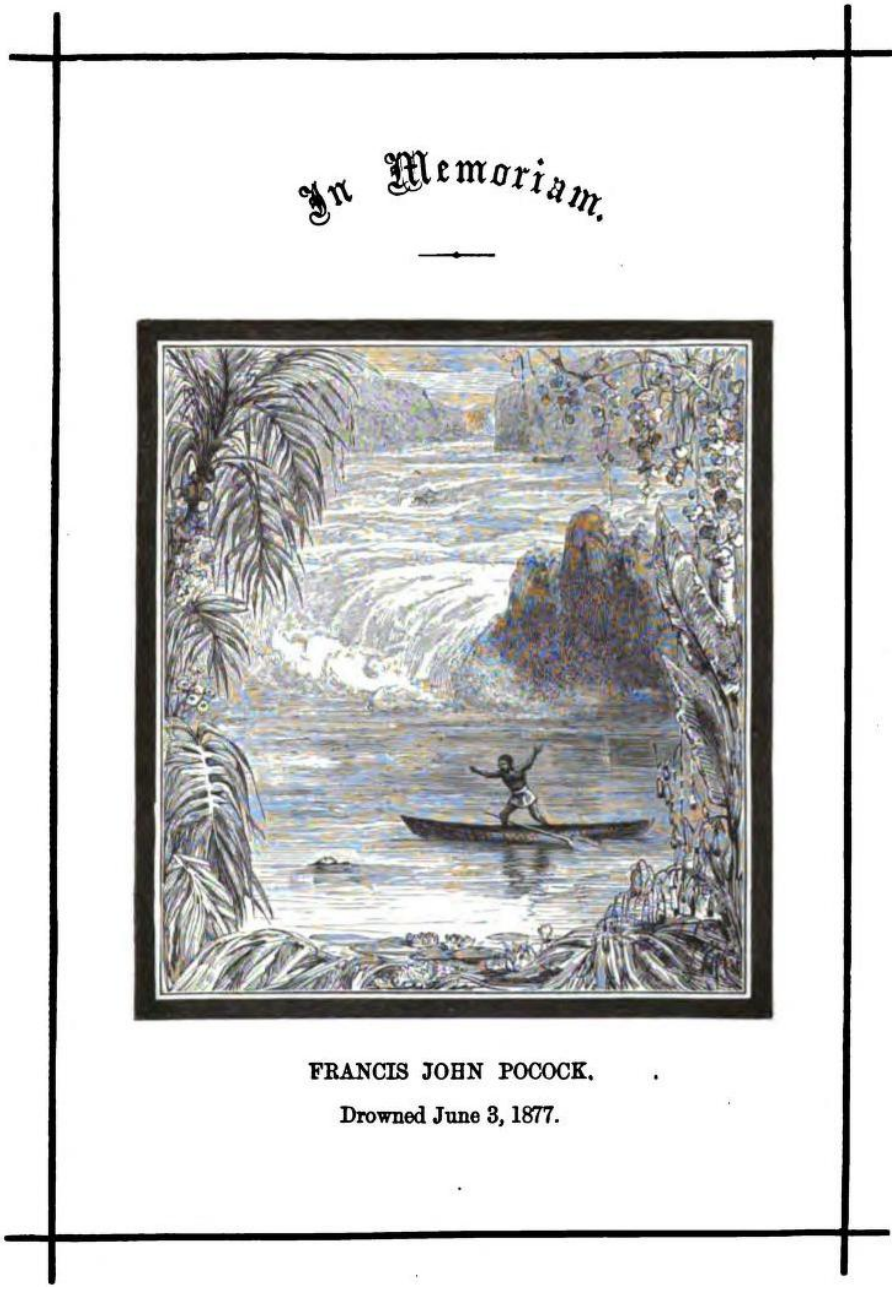

Fig. 3.2: The death of Francis Pocock in *Through the Dark Continent* (1878).

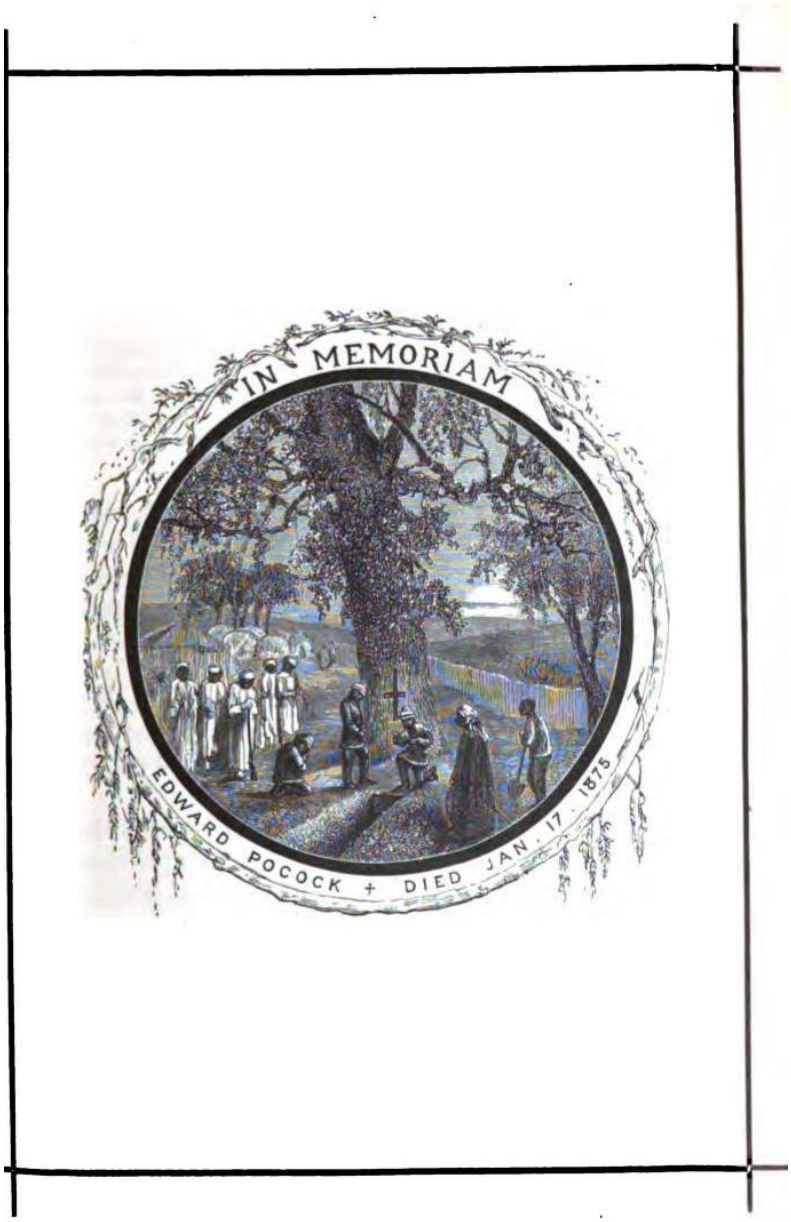

Fig. 3.3: The burial of Edward Pocock in *Through the Dark Continent* (1878).

4

'A TOURIST OVER AN UNKNOWN COUNTRY'

TRAVEL, TOURISM AND SPECTACLE

> Before tourism there was travel, and before travel there was exploration. Each is roughly assignable to its own age in modern history: exploration belongs to the Renaissance, travel to the bourgeois age, tourism to our proletarian moment.
>
> **Paul Fussell (1982)**[1]

> Nowadays, being an explorer is a trade, which consists not, as one might think, in discovering hitherto unknown facts after years of study, but in covering a great many miles and assembling lantern-slides or motion pictures, preferably in colour, a to fill a hall with an audience for several days in succession.
>
> **Claude Lévi-Strauss (1955)**[2]

The two quotations above offer a sceptical twentieth-century critique of the cult of the Victorian explorer. For Fussell, modern explorers face a losing battle to maintain the authenticity of travel in the face of the inevitable democratisation of mobility. Lévi-Strauss too sees the pioneering explorer as a thing of the past. The figure who now masquerades as an explorer is neither a scientist nor a soldier; he is a showman. He no longer unearths facts; he creates spectacles. But by focusing on how explorers served as front-runners to the soldiers, pioneers, and workers of empire, we risk losing sight of other important characters in the colonial and pre-colonial sphere: pleasure seekers, excursionists, and tourists. Some saw a vocation in the writings of Stanley, but others simply saw an invitation to visit, to gaze, and to souvenir hunt. For the tourist could return home from a safari trip

[1] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 38.
[2] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. by John and Doreen Weightman (1955; repr. London: Picador, 1989), p. 16.

without necessarily having shouldered the White Man's Burden and the museum-goer could attend an African exhibition without penetrating the Heart of Darkness.

James Buzard suggests that, in the nineteenth century, tourism 'became embroiled in the issue of how modernity itself might be characterized and confronted'.[3] The tourist, as a representative of a newly mobile middle class, became an avatar of modernity itself. Almost every anxiety about modernisation – the blight of industrialisation; the march of technology over nature; the increasing shallowness of lived experience – was projected onto this much maligned figure. If the tourist represented all that was modern, it was tempting to construct the explorer in opposition to all this, as a relic of bygone age. But is the Victorian explorer really an anachronistic Renaissance man stranded in a 'proletarian moment', a courtly chevalier fighting off the relentless vulgarisation of travel? Or do such 'genuine travellers' have a much more ambivalent relationship to modernity? Explorers may view the quest into the *terra incognita* as a foray back in time and an escape from the modern bureaucratic world, but their quests are as much a symptom of as a reaction against industrial modernity. Ironically, many explorers write elegiacally of the untouched or virginal landscapes which they are themselves responsible for 'opening up' to the Western eyes of opportunistic excursionists. Both the tourist and the spectator consume a version of Africa. For this reason it is important to understand the relationship between these touristic and theatrical Africas and the 'Dark Continent' of exploration literature. To what extent do these cultural phenomena share the formal conventions of the exploration narrative? And how do these shared traits enforce or deconstruct the ontological distinction between tourists, travellers, migrants, and explorers?

In this chapter, I investigate the spectacular and commercial legacies of late-Victorian exploration by setting explorers and their narratives in relation to contemporary developments in leisure travel and popular entertainment. Many explorers were far from elitist in their attitudes to travel and tourism and some (including Stanley) actively encouraged travellers who wished to follow in their beaten tracks. In this sense the explorer and the tourist cannot be separated into discrete categories. Rather than read the explorer as an 'authentic' traveller and the tourist as the product of a philistine modernity, it is more useful and accurate to emphasise their shared desire to tread the boundary between the modern and the romantic, the authentic and the contrived. This is the defining psychological characteristic of all travellers, and one of the key preoccupations of almost all travel writing. Like the 'frontiers' of the American West and the 'blank spaces' of Central

[3] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 19.

Africa, the touristic site becomes an ideal space in which to perform modernity.[4] Ethnographic shows, exhibitions, and panoramas carried the touristic experience into theatres and music-halls across Europe and America. Many commentators shrilly denounced the demise of exploration in the age of tourism but such rhetoric conceals another, more subtle, process. Explorers, tourists, and impresarios benefited mutually from the popularity of their respective endeavours; furthermore, they all drew on the same pool of rhetorical and literary tropes in their attempts to represent the experience of travel and intercultural encounter.

4.1 Explorer and Tourist

While Stanley was working on the manuscript of *In Darkest Africa*, his British publisher Edward Marston decided to pay him a visit in Cairo. Marston recorded his own little expedition in an article for *Scribner's Magazine*, which he later expanded into the book length *How Stanley Wrote 'In Darkest Africa': A Trip to Egypt and Back* (1890). Marston highlights the comic contrasts between the epic hardships of Stanley's quest and the trivial inconveniences which hinder his own excursion. Keen to indulge in his favourite pastimes of duck hunting and fishing, Marston is disappointed to find the Egyptian Nile more civilised than anticipated: 'I did not even see [a crocodile]. The march of civilisation and Cook's and Gaze's Nile boats…have driven the great Saurians away back into the upper regions'.[5] The key indicators of the 'march of civilisation' are the hordes of pleasure seekers aboard the steamers of the Britain's two largest tour operators, Thomas Cook and Henry Gaze. Despite, the awesome presence of the remains of the Pharaohs, Marston was in no doubt that 'the all powerful and popular Mr. Cook' was 'the real King of Egypt.'[6]

Thomas Cook and sons had long been touting the tourist excursion as beneficial to both body and mind and even as a patriotic duty: 'To remain stationary in these times of change', wrote Cook in 1854, 'when all the world is on the move, would be a crime'.[7] Like Livingstone, Thomas Cook was a committed evangelical Christian. His first excursion, a day trip from Leicester to Loughborough in July 1841, was intended to promote the cause

[4] Jeanette Eileen Jones has suggested that Africa became a new 'frontier' for a diverse set of American travellers at the turn of the century. *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), pp. 19-20.
[5] Edward Marston, *How Stanley Wrote 'In Darkest Africa': A Trip to Egypt and Back* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1890), p. 38.
[6] Ibid., p. 36.
[7] *Cook's Excursionist*, July 1854, qtd. in Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Seeker and Warburg, 1991), p. 65.

of temperance. Cook believed firmly in travel as 'a form of missionary enterprise' and, like Stanley, saw technology and travel as means to a social and moral end:[8]

> [Amongst] the varied agencies now at work on the minds and morals of men, there are few more powerful than Railways and Locomotion. The opening of a railway in an ignorant and barbarous district is an omen of moral renovation and intellectual exaltation. The prejudices which ignorance has engendered are broken by the roar of a train of carriages, and the whistle of the engine awakens thousands from the slumber of ages.[9]

During the 1860s Thomas Cook's son, John, took over the running of the company. Although he was also a teetotaler, John toned down the moral-crusade rhetoric but greatly expanded the list of excursion destinations. Marston's notion that Cook was 'the real King of Egypt' was not mere fancy or populist enthusiasm.[10] When the Suez Canal opened in November 1869 Thomas Cook was part of the very first flotilla to pass through.[11] In the same year he began to conduct tours to Egypt and the Holy Land, introducing middle-class British tourists to the African continent for the first time.[12] In 1873 he opened an office in the grounds of the famous Shepheard's Hotel Cairo, the centre of expat life in the city, and in the same year he took 200 tourists up the Nile.[13] By 1889 a Cairo doctor estimated there were 6,000 visitors in Cairo, and that 1,500 a year took Nile cruises with Cook.[14] After meeting Cook in 1889, the painter G. F. Watts declared the travel agent 'an apostle of civilisation' and suggested that Cook was de facto 'Minister of Transport in the country'.[15] In February 1890, while Stanley was writing up *In Darkest Africa* in Cairo, Cook launched *Ramses the Great* the largest steamer ever to sail the Nile.[16] By 1890 equatorial Africa was inevitably associated with the exploits of Stanley, but Egypt was indisputably the jewel in the crown of Thomas Cook and Son. Just as Stanley was more than once dubbed the

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[8] Brendon, p. 19.
[9] *Cook's Excursionist*, June 1854, qtd. in Brendon, p. 22. On British tourism in Egypt prior to Cook, see John Barrell, 'Death on the Nile: Fantasy and Literature of Tourism, 1840-1860' in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 187-206.
[10] For some similar statements see Derek Gregory, 'Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the Cultures of Travel' in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. by James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), 114-150 (pp. 130).
[11] Brendon, p. 130. Stanley was also present at this event as special correspondent for the *New York Herald* (*HIFL* 3).
[12] Lynee Withey, *Grand Tours and Cooks Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915* (London: Aurum, 1997), p. 258.
[13] Withey, p. 260; Brendon, pp. 132-35.
[14] Brendon, pp. 231-33.
[15] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 Aug. 1889, p. 1.
[16] Brendon, p. 224.

'Napoleon of African Travel', John Cook was feted by his contemporaries as the 'Napoleon of tourists'.[17]

Like Stanley, Cook was often close to the front line of imperial expansion. During Britain's 1882 war against the Egyptian nationalist uprising under Ahmed Urabi, Cook's steamers conveyed the British wounded to Cairo.[18] He also transported General Gordon up the Nile in January 1884, and Gordon subsequently used Cook's steamers to evacuate 2,000 refugees and bring his troops down the Nile to Khartoum. During Garnet Wolseley's unsuccessful expedition to rescue Gordon and his besieged forces from the Mahdist uprising in the Sudan, the War Office commissioned John Cook to transport 18,000 troops and 130,000 tons of stores from Alexandria to Wadi Halfa. The role of Thomas Cook and Co. in these major military operations rather dwarfed Stanley's own ineffectual intervention in the Mahdist rebellion during his leadership of the EPRE. John Cook was even invited to address the RGS on the subject of the Gordon Relief Expedition – an indication of how quickly the travel agents followed on the heels of explorers.[19] In 1869 the *Daily News*, reporting that Cook transported 200,000 excursionists a year, even compared the travel agent favourably to his explorer namesake: although Captain James Cook had made some useful discoveries, the transportation of one's 'honest countrymen and countrywomen to the most elevating scenes and associations in the world, of lifting them out of the dull round of everyday life, and of bringing them back heartier, happier, and better, is a higher and more useful discovery still.'[20] Commenting on Stanley's search for Livingstone in 1871, *Cook's Excursionist* (the mouthpiece for the travel agent) joked that if 'Livingstone's expedition had been arranged by the great English manager, the Doctor would have been home long ago'.[21]

At the same time, there were several print campaigns in major journals against Cook and his tourists. Almost all of these evoked a nostalgic golden-age of 'real' travel, before the onset of a vulgarised 'tourism' and the Anglicisation of the globe.[22] The Anglo-Irish novelist Charles Lever launched an attack on Cook in 1865 as part of his 'Cornelius O' Dowd' column in *Blackwood's*. With mock outrage he lampooned the hordes of ill-educated, ill-mannered tourists, herded around Italy by Cook, that 'enterprising and

[17] William H. G. Kingston and Charles Rathbone Low, *Great African Travellers* (London: George Routledge, 1890), p. 509; 'Henry Morton Stanley', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 20 (1904), p. 284; 'Tourists in Norway', *Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 25 Jan. 1887, p. 150.
[18] Brendon, p.137.
[19] Ibid., pp.190-95.
[20] 'Cook's Excursions', *Daily News*, 5 Aug. 1869, p. 5.
[21] *Cook's Excursionist*, 5 Aug. 1872, qtd. in Brendon, p. 160.
[22] Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage, 1994), p. 262.

unscrupulous man [. . .] whose name assuredly ought to be Barnum!'.[23] The *Pall Mall Gazette* lent its support to Lever, asserting that the tourist travelled not for intellectual improvement but simply to 'qualify himself cheaply and quickly for talking glibly about places and things, familiarity with which he fancies confers some kind of distinction'.[24] The fear was that cheap travel enabled a wider social group to access the markers of cultural capital, which ought to be the reserve of gentlemen.[25] The popular *Daily News*, however, railed against this elitism and refuted the notion that Cook's tourists were vulgar philistines who travelled in 'droves, and in droves only'. Cook's excursions, it maintained, could be enjoyed 'without loss of individual independence' and were frequently 'practiced by people of all stations of life'.[26] Cook also liked to see himself as an ambassador of progress and the democratisation of travel, and was not opposed to tackling his critics head-on. In an article in 1863, he rejoiced with evangelical zeal in the opening up of the wider world to the humble package tourist, and rained his contempt upon the snobs of travel:

> [It] is too late in this day of progress to talk such exclusive nonsense; God's earth, with all its fulness [sic] and beauty, is for the people; and railways and steamboats are the result of the common light of science, and are for the people also. Those who wish to live for themselves only, and to have the exclusive enjoyment of earth's provisions, had better make a tour to Timbuctoo, or to any other uninviting regions, where the people will not think it worth their time and money to follow them. The best of men, and the noblest of minds, rejoice to see the people follow in their foretrod routes of pleasure [. . .][27]

It is significant that Cook chooses a remote central African location as the antithesis of a pleasant excursion destination. Cook was writing in a period when a European visitor to Timbuktu would have every right to call himself 'explorer'. In time, however, Cook's tourists would become an increasingly familiar sight even in Africa. By 1898 one group of Cook's tourists were travelling down the Nile to Khartoum, hot on the trail of Kitchener's conquering army, while another group saw the opening of the new Congo railway between Stanley Pool (Malebo) and Matadi.[28] Trips to the Zambezi, Lake Victoria and the Congo

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[23] [Charles Lever], 'Continental Excursionists', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 97 (1865), 230-33 (p. 230).
[24] 'Cook v. Cornelius O' Dowd', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 Apr. 1865, p. 633.
[25] My understanding of cultural capital is derived from Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 1-7.
[26] 'Cook's Excursions', *Daily News*, 5 Aug 1869, p. 5.
[27] *Cook's Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser*, 6 June 1864, pp. 5-6.
[28] Brendon, p. 236; Stephen Donovon, 'Touring in Extremis: Travel and Adventure in the Congo' in *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*, ed. by Tim Youngs (London: Anthem, 2006), pp. 37-54 (p. 38).

would soon follow and, despite the excursionist's early reservations, by 1923 they had even reached Timbuktu.[29]

4.2 Travel Agents

Despite the democratic critique of the explorer/tourist divide, several modern studies have defended the value of this distinction. Paul Fussell, for example argues that:

> Tourism simulates travel, sometimes quite closely [. . .]. But it is different in crucial ways. It is not self-directed but externally directed. You go not where you want to go but where the industry has decreed you shall go. Tourism soothes you by comfort and familiarity and shields you from the shocks of novelty and oddity. It confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up. Tourism requires that you see conventional things, and that you see them in a conventional way.[30]

Fussell's problem with tourism is that it robs the traveller of agency. Tourists do not encounter things, they are shown them; they seek spectacle rather than experience. Moreover this spectacle is always conventional as, drained of its otherness, the new place becomes comfortable and familiar. To use Derek Gregory's terms, the 'site' becomes a 'sight'.[31] However, anti-tourist sentiment – which is usually suffused with nostalgic snobbery and transparent class prejudice – is also an important aspect of the tourist experience. The inherent snobbery of the traveller has long been exploited by the tourist industry. As Ian Ousby points out, anti-tourist sentiment 'ends up serving the very phenomenon it sought to denounce and escape, for the tourist industry well knows how to exploit our yearning to get off the beaten track and rediscover genuine travel'.[32]

So where do we situate exploration on the travel/tourism spectrum? Piers Brendon has suggested that tourism may be defined as 'the discovery of the well-known (whereas travel is the discovery of the ill-known and exploration the discovery of the unknown)'.[33] But of course the categories of 'known' and 'unknown' have no real basis in the ontological character of a given place; they simply refer to an epistemological relation between the

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[29] Brendon, pp. 252, 262.
[30] Paul Fussell (ed.), *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), p. 651.
[31] Gregory, 'Scripting Egypt', pp. 114-20.
[32] Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Travel, Taste and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 7. Jonathan Culler makes a similar point in *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 156.
[33] Brendon, p. 63.

traveller and the 'travelee'. In the context of nineteenth-century African exploration, 'unknown' usually means 'not previously visited by Europeans.' All of the regions 'explored' by Stanley were known and populated by Africans, and most of his routes were already in use by Arab travellers and traders – though in the nineteenth century these non-white pioneers were rarely credited with the title of 'explorer' by Europeans. European explorers in Africa were also therefore 'discovers of the known' and thus indistinguishable from tourists if we rely on Brendon's definition. It is also a stretch to call any of Stanley's expeditions self-directed – a necessary quality of 'real travel' according to Fussell. Throughout his career, Stanley, like all European travellers in Africa made use of African and Arab guides. Many of the African men and women recruited by Stanley were themselves veterans of exploratory travel, having been part of the previous expeditions of Speke, Burton and Livingstone.[34] As Adrian Wisnicki has shown, the pre-existing Arab and Nyamwezi trading networks 'predetermined key features' of British expeditions in East Africa, including the routes taken, 'traveling dates [. . .] and, of course, the mode of travel itself'.[35] Furthermore, as Stanley's expeditions became larger and more militaristic in nature, the explorer's itinerary came to be determined by a variety of vested interests. The progress of the AAE was partially determined by Stanley's need to generate interesting copy for the *Herald* and the *Telegraph*. Later, the EPRE was funded by a conglomeration of squabbling interest groups – including the Egyptian Government, the Anti-Slavery Society, the Scottish shipping magnate William Mackinnon, and the Belgian monarch Leopold II – all of whom expressed opinions as to the most efficacious route to Emin's base on Lake Albert.[36]

How then could explorers distinguish themselves from the tourist rabble? One approach was to stress their greater professionalism and status as 'scientific travellers'. Ever since James Bruce travelled through Ethiopia in the 1770s, explorers had known that the authenticity and veracity of their accounts could be challenged by their metropolitan contemporaries.[37] In the later half of the nineteenth century, the two most prominent American-based explorers, Stanley and Paul Du Chaillu, were the most popular targets of the British geographical establishment and continually faced allegations of sensationalism,

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[34] On the role of Africans in the European exploration of Africa see Donald Simpson, *Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa* (London: Paul Elek, 1976) and Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2006).

[35] Adrian S. Wisnicki, 'Charting the Frontier: Indigenous Geography, Arab-Nyamwezi Caravans, and the East African Expedition of 1856–59', *Victorian Studies*, 51 (2008), 103-37 (p. 117).

[36] Youngs, *Travellers in Africa*, p. 114.

[37] On the reception of Bruce's African travels see Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 54-102.

mendacity and unprofessionalism. Stanley's own insecurity about his ability to live up to the rigorous standards of his peers is illustrated in a letter sent to Edward Levy, proprietor of the *Telegraph*, in 1876. Writing from the scene of his former triumph at Ujiji, Stanley disavows any claim to the 'sentimental glory of discovering the Nile', and instead details his rigorous and painstaking exploration of the circumference of Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. Comparing his methods favourably against the unsystematic meanderings of 'Speke, Baker or Livingstone', Stanley claims to have 'gained supreme advantage, and authority by [his] systematic & exact explorations'. He concludes tellingly by declaring his expedition to be 'a signal triumph over Cameron, the Protégé of the R.G.S' and all of those who had previously dubbed him a 'damned penny a liner'.[38] But despite his best efforts, Stanley did not convince everybody. In a largely positive review of *Through the Dark Continent*, the *Examiner* took pains to point out Stanley's cavalier approach to botanical, zoological, and geographical data, and suggested that he was unworthy of the title 'scientific traveller'. Despite his best efforts, concluded the reviewer, Stanley was 'merely a tourist over an unknown country'.[39]

But although explorers were keen to deflect allegations of 'mere tourism', the literatures of exploration and tourism were more closely allied than we might imagine. Unlike the rather anonymous guidebooks popular today, many of the early Murray and Baedeker guides were authored by individual idiosyncratic travellers. As Buzard explains, the books' appeal 'to individual authority and accountability remained an important factor in the handbooks' success long after individual authorship had ceased to be practicable'.[40] The publisher John Murray III (1808-1892), the man behind the famous red guidebooks, also oversaw the publication of two of the most successful exploration narratives of the century: Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* (1857) and Paul Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Central Africa* (1861). The editors of and contributors to guidebooks included both respected independent travellers and explorers. Some notable editions include the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845) by the art connoisseur Richard Ford, and the *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (1847) by the archaeologist, explorer, and RGS fellow John Gardner Wilkinson – the author of *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), the standard work on Egyptian antiquities.[41] The venerable Gardner was happy not only to

[38] Stanley to Edward Levy, Ujiji, 13 August 1876. Norman R. Bennett (ed.), *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1970), p. 463-65.
[39] 'Mr. Stanley's Explorations,' *Examiner* , 29 June 1878, p. 819.
[40] Buzard, *Beaten Track*, p. 72.
[41] Richard Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845); John Gardner Wilkinson, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt* (London: John Murray, 1847).

advise tourists on the best ancient sites to visit but also to point out the best place to find a decent bottle of claret in Cairo and how much to pay for it. Such instances of cross pollination between exploration, travel writing and tourism suggest that the great divide between traveller and tourist was not as entrenched as we might think.

In his own African travel narratives, Stanley also displays a touristic concern with the mundane practicalities of travel. At the beginning of *How I Found Livingstone* (1871), he laments the paucity of practical details in other books of exploration.

> In a case like this, it would have been a godsend, I thought, had either of the three gentlemen, Captains Burton, Speke, or Grant, given some information on these points; had they devoted a chapter upon, 'How to get ready an Expedition for Central Africa' [. . .] I studied Burton, Speke, and Grant in vain. A good deal of geographical, ethnological, and other information appertaining to the study of Inner Africa was obtainable, but information respecting the organization of an expedition requisite before proceeding to Africa, was not in any book.

Stanley decides that he will devote a full chapter to the organisation and recruitment of his expedition so 'that other travellers coming after me may have the benefit of my experience' (*HIFL* 20-21). This seems to mark a division, at least in Stanley's mind, between himself (the practical and unpretentious journalist) and Burton, Speke, and Grant (the 'gentlemen' travellers). Like Cook, Stanley was a geographical autodidact from an impoverished rural background, and he does not wish to veil his experiences in mystery or jealously guard his discoveries from sightseers. Stanley deliberately contrasted his own openness with the elitism of the 'armchair' geographers at the RGS:

> However, stay-at-home, chimney-corner, and easy-chair loving people may regard the merits of this book, the greatest thanks will be bestowed on it by travellers who may succeed me in East Africa; for they will at once perceive the useful lessons taught them by my haps and mishaps. (*HIFL* 70).

It is difficult to determine how honest Stanley is being when he claims he cannot find 'any book' to advise him on the practicalities of organizing an expedition. He was certainly incorrect, however, to suggest that no such book existed. Richard Burton had, in fact, prided himself on the usefulness and practicality of his own travel books, as he explained in

Zanzibar; City, Island, and Coast (1872) – published in the same year as Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone*:

> [Those] who would follow me had only to read [. . .] the 'Lake Regions of Central Africa,' to learn all they require concerning seasons and sickness, industry and commerce, what outfit and material were necessary, what guides, escort, and porters were wanted, what obstacles might be expected, and what facilities would probably offer themselves. My labours thus rendered easy the ingress of future expeditions, which had only to tread in my steps.[42]

As Dane Kennedy has shown, Burton frequently expressed 'disdain for prepackaged tours and [took] delight in detailing the errors and questioning the value of the popular Murray and Baedeker guidebooks'.[43] In these instances, however, both Stanley and Burton appear to welcome those who wished to follow in their footsteps. And it was not only Burton and Stanley who offered advice on practical aspects of exploration. There was, in fact, an important genre of guidebooks and manuals which catered explicitly for explorers. In this vein, John Murray published *The Art of Travel, Or Shifts and Contrivances available in Wild Countries* by Stanley's *bête noire* Francis Galton, which ran through various editions between 1854 and the end of the century. Galton advised the apprentice explorer on everything from recruiting carriers, buying supplies, and erecting a tent, right through to taking journal notes, lithographing maps, and presenting a narrative of travels in publishable form.[44] Galton also contributed to the RGS's own official manual *Hints for Travellers* (also first published in 1854). Felix Driver has interpreted these early-Victorian guides as the continuation of a genre which had its roots in the late-seventeenth century, with the 'institutionalization of knowledge in the European scientific academies'.[45] According to Driver, the 'task of instruction manuals like *Hints to Travellers* was to direct the inquiries of the traveller in a manner useful to science: in a sense, to define his field of vision'.[46] The

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[42] Richard F. Burton, *Zanzibar; City, Island, and Coast* (London: Tinsely, 1872), vol. II, p. 320.
[43] Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University press, 2007), pp. 128-30.
[44] Francis Galton, *The Art of Travel, Or Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*, fourth edition (London: John Murray, 1867). The front matter to this 1867 edition includes advertisements for various Murray Handbooks. Stanley's comment upon the scarcity of useful books on 'the organization of an expedition' was perhaps a deliberate snub to Galton. In an interview with the *Daily News*, Stanley outlined the advantages of leading a privately-funded expedition, 'unhampered and unaided by Government grants, or the recommendations of councils [. . .] appointed after interviews, instructions, and much study of such books as "The Art of Travel"'. *Daily News*, 19 Aug. 1872, p. 2.
[45] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 50.
[46] Ibid., p. 56.

agency of the explorer was therefore proscribed in a number of ways: the conditions on the ground and presence of existing ingenious networks of transportation determined the route and itinerary of expeditions, while the epistemological dictums of the learned societies determined how the traveller should see, record, and write-up the sites and sights of Africa.

Even Stanley was not averse to having his vision trained in this way. At the beginning of *Through the Dark Continent* Stanley describes entering an 'old-book shop' where his eye is caught by 'a volume bearing the singular title of "How to Observe"':

> Upon opening it, I perceived it contained tolerably clear instructions of 'How and what to observe.' It was very interesting and it whetted my desire to know more; it led me to purchase quite an extensive library of books upon Africa, its geography, geology, botany, and ethnology. I thus became possessed of over one hundred and thirty books upon Africa, which I studied with the zeal of one who had a living interest in the subject, and with the understanding of one who had been already four times on the continent. I knew what had been accomplished by African Explorers, and I knew how much of the dark interior was still unknown to the world. (*TDC* 1: 2).

There is an interesting play here between two categories of knowledge. Stanley is both the studious reader, eager to learn 'how and what to observe', but also the seasoned traveller who has 'been already four times to the continent'. He consumes any available literature which will educate him in matters of African geography, botany, and ethnography, yet he privileges the authority of first-hand experience. He stresses first person observation as the key to acquiring illuminating knowledge of Africa, yet also reveals that the objectivity of his gaze is mediated by his reading of texts. He admits that he has learned 'how and what to observe' from these books, texts which have carved up the mysteries of darkest Africa into a range of 'objective' scientific discourses: geography, geology, botany and ethnology.

Stanley's 'How to Observe' could be one of several guides published earlier in the century. *What to Observe, or the Traveller's Remembrancer* (1841) by the RGS secretary Julian R. Jackson is much like the later *Hints for Travellers*, a manual for the scientific traveller. It instructs the would-be explorer on the recording, collection, and collation of geographical measurements, geological samples, and botanical and zoological specimens, and also offers guidance on the sociological and ethnographic evaluation of human individuals and 'savage' tribes.[47] Another contender is Harriet Martineau's *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (1838),

[47] Julian R. Jackson, *What to Observe; or the Traveller's Remembrancer* (London: James Madden, 1841); Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 51-52.

which was part of a short-lived series by the philanthropic publisher Charles Knight.[48] Influenced by the emergent field of sociology and the 'positive philosophy' of Auguste Comte, *How to Observe* lays out Martineau's scheme for a 'science of morals', in which the scientific traveller's systematic approach to geology, botany, and zoology is extended to the socio-cultural sphere.[49] If the traveller is to serve the interests of science, Martineau claims, the 'powers of observation must be trained, and habits of method in arranging the materials presented to the eye must be acquired before the student possesses the requisites for understanding what he contemplates'[50] Disavowing the chauvinistic and prejudiced approach most travellers take to foreign cultures, Martineau attempts to sketch an utilitarian schema for the objective evaluation of the Other. If the traveller can 'test the morals and manners of a nation by a reference to the essentials of human happiness', then, she claims, the observer will 'strike at once to the centre, and [. . .] see things as they are'.[51] Whereas Martineau's contemporary Charles Darwin saw a danger in observation coloured by strong feeling, Martineau saw sympathy as a prerequisite for objectivity and presented observation as an altruistic act.[52] Works like *The Art of Travel* and *Hints to Travellers* presented observation as a disciplinary practice, constructing the observer and the observed as active scientific instrument and passive specimen respectively. But as Felix Driver suggests in his own survey of the genre, these guides were never entirely successful in presenting a unified system of observation or in prescribing the limits of the field of study. As the differences between the respective guides indicate, 'how and what to observe where matters of contention'.[53]

Stanley was not merely a consumer of guidebooks, however; he also wrote them. On his way to find Livingstone, James Gordon Bennett had ordered his correspondent to 'write up a guide – a practical one – for Lower Egypt'. When Bennett asked Stanley to include 'whatever is worth seeing and how to see it' (*HIFL* 3) he echoed the language of Murray, who, in his very first 'Hand-Book' for the Continental traveller, promised to provide 'matter-of-fact descriptions of what *ought to be seen* at each place . . . without

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[48] Charles Knight was the official publisher for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and also published the cheap and 'improving' periodicals the *Penny Magazine* and the *Penny Cyclopaedia*. *How to Observe: Geology* (London: Charles Knight, 1836) by the naturalist Henry De La Beche was the only other book in the series to be published.

[49] Martineau was Comte's first English translator. See *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, Freely Translated and Condensed by Harriet Martineau* (London: John Chapman, 1855).

[50] Harriet Martineau, *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (London: Charles Knight, 1838), p. 13.

[51] Ibid., p. 23.

[52] 'When we witness any deep emotion, our sympathy is so strongly exited, that close observation is forgotten or rendered almost impossible'. Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London: John Murray, 1872), p. 13.

[53] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 58.

bewildering his readers with an account of all that *may* be seen'.[54] Similarly, in the opening chapter of *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) Stanley again slips into the Murray-like voice of a tour guide as he points out sites of interest in Zanzibar, recommending places to visit and districts to avoid. He conducts a rhetorical tour, passing quickly through the 'poor man's district' with its 'dingy hue which black faces and semi-naked bodies seem to deepen' (*TDC* 1: 26-7). In the vicinity of the Universities Mission the reader is shown 'some peculiar red cliffs, which are worth seeing' (*TDC* 1: 28). Stanley even has the tour guide's habit of telling his imaginary tourists how they should feel in particular locations. A road past a populous graveyard, for example, 'will compel the traveller to moralize, and meditate pensively. Decay speaks to him, and from the moment he leaves the house to the moment he returns, his mind is constantly dwelling on mortality' (*TDC* 1: 27). Of course, as Equatorial Africa does not present recognisable 'sights' or 'attractions' in the way that Continental Europe does, Stanley must create sites of historical and emotional significance in order to demarcate and map his own journey. So the upper-Congo becomes the Livingstone River; forbiddingly anonymous peaks and crags become Mount Gordon Bennett and Mount Edwin Arnold and the 'blank spaces' become inscribed with the names of friends and colleagues. Unsurprisingly, Stanley also lingers on sites associated with previous British explorers. During his search for Livingstone, he eagerly approaches the village of Tabora, referring to it as the 'classic ground' traversed by 'Capts. Burton, Speke, and Grant' (*HIFL* 193). At Unyanyembe an obliging Arab merchant shows him 'the very ground where Burton and Speke's house stood' (*HIFL* 199). Later, much of Stanley's journey in *Through the Dark Continent* becomes a sort of sentimental retracing of his previous expedition to find Livingstone.

> Next day we coasted along land familiar to me from my journey with Livingstone to Unyanyembé [. . .] Having been so successful in January 1872, I sallied out the next day over ground which I looked upon with reverence. The exact place covered by our little tent, only six feet square of land, was hallowed by associations of an intercourse which will never, never be repeated. I recognise the tree above which we hoisted our mighty crimson and white banner to attract the lagging land caravan, the plain where I had dropped the zebra, the exact spot where I shot a fine fat goose for breakfast, the aspiring peak of Kivanga, the weird looking mountains of Tongwé. I knew my road here and dwelt upon all its features, until the old life seemed renewed, and all things seemed as before. (*TDC* 2: 16)

[54] *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, Second Edition (London: John Murray, 1838), v. Emphasis in original.

Stanley's mission at this point becomes an emotional pilgrimage. The language is that of meditation, reflection and prayer. He looks upon the ground 'with reverence'; an old campsite is 'hallowed by associations'. These associations are at once personal (relating to Stanley's friendship with Livingstone) and public (the famous 'intercourse' which will 'never be repeated'). He describes the scene with the awed reverence and respect of a family member visiting the tomb of a revered ancestor. Brute nature itself seems aware of Stanley's mourning. Immediately after the passage above, Stanley shoots two Zebra, then watches the rest of the herd retreat 'whimpering for their lost companions', projecting his own grief onto the animals (*TDC* 2: 16). At points he uses Livingstone's *Last Journals* as a kind of guidebook, visiting sites like Mompara ('remarkable as being the place whereat Livingstone embarked in canoes [. . .] to proceed to Ujiji for the first time') and respectfully quoting Livingstone's original passage in his own text (*TDC* 2: 33). As Driver suggests, the existence of exploration manuals and the tendency of even the most adventurous travellers to follow in the wake of earlier travel writers betrays the fact that the 'scientific traveller' and the 'literary tourist' were never entirely discrete categories.[55] Even the most pioneering explorers and scientific travellers were operating within a literary tradition, and their observation and interpretations were determined not only be what they encountered on their travels but by what they had read beforehand. Although Stanley did much to earn the title of explorer and adventurer, like the tourist, his journeys were often directed by external sources and his impressions mediated by the accounts of previous travellers.

4.3 Safari

> TROUP. But good God, who made up these provisions?
>
> JAMESON. Fortnum and Mason's. They'd have done us quite nicely for an afternoon at Lord's Cricket Ground, don't you think?
>
> TROUP. Good God, good God!

[55] Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 52-53.

> BARTTELOT. So there you are, gentleman! [. . .] And now perhaps you'll understand something about Mr Stanley, the greatest African explorer of our age! He has his expedition provisions made up by Fortnum and Mason's.[56]

In Simon Gray's 1978 play *The Rear Column* – which dramatises an ill-fated episode from Stanley's EPRE – Stanley's officers expose the explorer's reliance on the comforts of bourgeois modernity. His expedition, no better planned than a picnic, must march on provisions supplied and packaged by a fashionable Piccadilly tea-merchant.[57] According to James Buzard, the problem with tourists – as constructed by anti-tourist rhetoric – is that they appear 'unable or unwilling to cast off the traces of modernity…clinging to domestic habits and amenities which destroy the foreignness of foreign places once they are introduced to them.'[58] But these 'traces of modernity' and civilised habits are also precisely what an explorer like Stanley holds most dear in the depths of the wilderness. Before his meeting with Livingstone he famously orders his servants to 'lay out my new flannel suit, to oil my boots, to chalk my helmet, and fold a new puggaree around it, that I may look as presentable as possible before the white man' (*HIFL* 324). When he does hold his first conference with the Doctor, he produces a bottle of champagne and some silver goblets to mark the occasion (*HIFL* 336). The sheer volume of domestic comforts Stanley's porters are forced to carry over a thousand kilometres of rough terrain astonishes Livingstone.

> The Doctor said he had thought me a most luxurious and rich man, when he saw my great bathtub carried on the shoulders of one of my men; but he thought me still more luxurious this morning, when my knives and forks and plates, and cups, saucers, silver spoons, and silver tea-pot were brought forth shining and bright, spread on a rich Persian carpet, and observed that I was well attended to by my yellow and ebon Mercuries. (*HIFL* 344)

These 'traces of modernity' are, for Stanley, an essential survival strategy on his tropical expeditions. As the *Herald* correspondent on the Abyssinian campaign of 1868, Stanley had been taken aback by the aristocratic excesses of the British officers who had temporarily imported the Raj lifestyle to East Africa. Followed everywhere by a retinue of Indian servants, they were, he thought, far 'too fond' of alcohol and 'exceedingly unsoldierly' in

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[56] Simon Gray, *The Rear Column and Other Plays* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1978), p. 26.
[57] Stanley records the receipt of 'forty carrier loads of choicest provisions' from Fortnum and Mason in *IDA* 1: 39.
[58] Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 8.

their propensity for luxuries.[59] However, on his mission to find Livingstone he seems to be consciously emulating the opulence of the British officers. At the beginning of his journey he notes with approval the fine food and drink consumed by the Jesuit missionaries at Bagamayo on the Tanzanian coast: '[t]heir festive board drives the African jungle fever from their doors, while it soothes the gloom and isolation which strike one with awe' (*HIFL* 42). The importance of such modern 'traces' is also emphasised in another Central African odyssey, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899). The narrator, Marlow, admires the 'backbone' of the chief accountant, who appears 'as a sort of vision' in 'a high starched collar, white cuffs, a light alpaca jacket, snowy trousers, a clean necktie, and varnished boots' amidst the 'great demoralization' of a colonial outpost.[60] As John Plotz suggests in his study of mobile objects in the Victorian novel, 'novelistic representations of implicitly and explicitly national portable property' become integral to the project of preserving English identity both at home and abroad in the imperial age.[61] For the explorer these traces of 'modernity' and luxury formed a lifeline to the 'civilised' world and a protective shield against the miasmic infiltration of the savage environment. In such a context, the trappings of luxury, comfort, and personal hygiene did not destroy the foreignness of foreign places but rather enhanced it.[62]

If there is any form of tourism, which can be said be emulative of nineteenth-century exploration, it was the East African safari. On safari, travellers took pleasure in 'roughing it': travelling in rickety trains, donning pith helmets and khaki fatigues, sleeping in tents and dining on the spoils of the hunt. Fussell reads the Safari as a deluding 'simulacrum of exploration', an attempt by upper-middle class anti-tourists to distract themselves from the realisation that we 'are all tourists now, and there is no escape'.[63] The narratives of the great British explorers and the early Safari tourists were, however, intertwined in complex ways. Many of Stanley's books were originally bound with advertisements which emphasised the overlap between commercial travel, exploration, tourism, and migration. The front matter to Stanley's *Through South Africa* (1898) features ads for sun hats, Australian mining shares, 'Big Game Rifles' (15 guineas from Tolley's of

[59] H. M. Stanley, Journal (28 January 1868). RMCA, MS 2.
[60] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (1899; repr. London: Penguin, 2007), p. 21.
[61] John Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 2.
[62] In her work on the commercial mythologies of imperialism, Anne McClintock suggests that soap itself 'emerged commercially during an era of impending crisis and social calamity, serving to preserve, through fetish ritual, the uncertain boundaries of class, gender, and race identity'. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 211. For some contemporary soap advertisements which utilise Stanley's image see Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 137-41 and Amandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 45-48.
[63] Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 49.

Bond Street), and excursion packages from London to Bulawayo on the Bechuanaland Railway (the same journey Stanley makes in the book).[64] Even today the names of European explorers are frequently invoked in the promotion of African tourism: Livingstone Lodges and Stanley Safaris are commonplace in the insulated game reserves and national parks of Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa.[65]

The promoters of African tourism have always had to strike a delicate balance: selling the adventurous aspects of the safari and the exotic appeal of the 'Dark Continent' while also assuring tourists that their health or lives were not at risk from the hostile climate, fierce animals, and savage people.[66] Authorities such as J. Scott Keltie, a prominent RGS member and the editor of *Nature*, argued that the African climate was not only responsible for the degradation of the dark races, but that it could also have a detrimental affect on English settlers, causing them to 'degenerate physically and morally.' The 'ultimate result' of European settlement in Africa would be, he concluded, 'a race deprived of all those characteristics which have made Europe what it is'.[67] The authors of early guidebooks felt the need to overcompensate for the years of bad press Africa had received from explorers like Stanley (keen to hype the danger and hardship of their expeditions) and romancers like H. Rider Haggard (whose tales were replete with tribal warfare, cannibalism, and fetish worship). In 1889 J. F. Ingram, another fellow of RGS, wrote a guide to South and East Africa with the alluring title *The Land of Gold, Diamonds and Ivory*. Ingram begins his guide by addressing the misconceptions perpetrated by such authors:

> The weird tales of adventure which have been put forth from time to time regarding Africa, have succeeded in drawing such a veil of mystery over the country, that the ordinary reader has come to regard it as a region where savage and unapproachable nations live and die in miserable state of perpetual bloodshed, strife, superstition and bondage. Sandy deserts like unhealthy dreams, pass before his mind, and horrible rites as practiced

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[64] H. M. Stanley, *Through South African* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1898).

[65] The 'Stanley Safari Lodge' is described as 'the exclusive oasis for the new explorers of the Victoria Falls' <http://www.victoriafallsreservations.com/Stanley_Safari.asp> [accessed 7 Sept 2011]. On the Zambia side of the Victoria Falls there are hotels named after Stanley, Livingstone and Livingstone's 'followers' Susi and Chuma. <http://www.zambiareservations.com/> [accessed 7 Sept 2011].

[66] A recent solution to this problem can be seen at the Port Lympne Wild Animal Park in Kent, where the Livingstone Safari Lodge (opened in 2005) offers a Safari experience free from the expense and potential dangers of the African bush. John Crace reports that there are 'no snakes, no mosquitoes and no mud-strip landings in rickety six-seater planes with teenage pilots'. 'On Safari in Kent', *Guardian*, 21 July 2007, Travel, p. 2.

[67] J. S. Keltie, 'Some Geographical Problems', *Geographical Journal*, 10 (1897), 308-23 (p. 315). For more on popular climactic theories of race and their relation to colonial practices see James S. Duncan, *In the Shadows of the Tropics: Climate, Race and Biopower in Nineteenth Century Ceylon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1-23. On race, climate and disease in the early exploration and colonisation of equatorial Africa see Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 194-204.

> by the natives cause him to turn from the subject with feeling closely akin to loathing. Those who follow me through these pages, however, will speedily learn how erroneous and unjust such impressions are. True it is, that in certain localities some such horrors as those enumerated do occur occasionally, but they are not nearly so common or general as one might infer from the accounts of romantic and imaginative writers, who have found in Africa that convenient uncertainty so necessary to the success of their productions.[68]

Ingram's book was specifically a guide for emigrants, a subdivision of the 'booster' literature (see Chapter 1) that had proved popular since the 1830s. However, following the growth of East African tourism in the late-nineteenth century, there were an increasing number of guides directly targeted at tourists. The cover of a 1903 guide issued by the Union Castle Steamship Company tackles Stanley and Haggard head on, recasting the continent as 'Brightest Africa' and depicting the Victoria Falls as equal parts Plymouth, St. James Park, and Garden of Eden. A steam liner provides a reassuring image of modernity, while the native African fauna are present only in the form of a tame gazelle about to be petted by an equally graceful and doe-eyed Edwardian lady who alluringly meets the readers gaze. There are no Africans in sight.[69]

Back in 1878 there was one resource in which Africa was, in Stanley's opinion, sorely in need: 'A tramway is one thing that is needed for Africa. All other benefits that can be conferred by contact with civilisation will follow in the wake of the tramway, which will be an iron bond, never to be again broken, between Africa and the more favoured continents' (*TDC* 1: 34). The eradication of the Arab slave-trade in Africa was one of the primary motivations offered by Stanley for the European annexation of the continent. But here Stanley prefigures a new yoke 'never again to be broken', binding Africa to European interests. In 1891 Stanley would again celebrate the fact that 'Africa is being fettered to civilisation by rigid bars of metal which form the all-conquering railway'.[70] In British East Africa, the coming of the railway would announce the culmination of the age of colonisation and the beginning of the age of tourism. Safari tourism really took off after the construction of the Uganda Railway between the Indian Ocean and Lake Victoria. Work

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[68] J. F. Ingram, *The Land of Gold, Diamonds and Ivory: Being a Comprehensive Handbook and Guide to the Colonies, States and Republics of South and East Africa* (London: W. B. Whittingham, 1889), p. 1.

[69] *In Brightest Africa: The World's Riviera* (London: The Union Castle Mail S.S. Co., 1905). For a copy of the image from the Russell E. Train Africana Collection see the Smithsonian Libraries website <http://www.sil.si.edu/exhibitions/ArtofAfricanExploration/details.cfm?id=10826>
The Union Castle Mail Steamship Company ran a weekly service from Southampton to Cape Town between 1900 and 1977. C. J. Harris and Brian D. Ingpen, *Mailships of the Union-Castle Line* (Capetown: Fernwood Press, 1994).

[70] *The Times*, 2 May 1891, p. 13.

began in 1896 at the port town of Mombasa, then the largest town in British East Africa (later Kenya). Twenty-thousand imported Indian labourers were used to lay the 582 miles of tracks which extended to Port Florence (Kisumu) on Lake Victoria by 1901. Travel time from the Indian Ocean to the lake had been reduced from 70 to three and a half days. In the regions adjacent to the railway an economy based on the Indian rupee was replacing the old currencies of cloth, wire, and beads, significantly reducing the baggage load for European travellers and their African porters. 'The privations, delays, and troubles of the old caravan road are becoming things of the past,' reported the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* in 1902.[71] Situated several hundred miles north of the old Zanzibar caravan routes (which were now part of German East Africa), the new route proved ideal for the development of tourism, offering a more temperate climate 'chosen to match the tolerances of the traveller within the limits of the available game'.[72]

Perhaps conscious of the potentially emasculating effect of traversing Africa in a train carriage, more adventurous passengers were permitted to sit on a specially constructed platform on the front of the train, from which they could observe and occasionally shoot at passing herds of game. As John MacKenzie suggests, the Uganda railway made for 'a particularly sybaritic form of the chase' in which early travellers (including the Colonial Under-secretary Winston Churchill in 1907) could take pot-shots from a private carriage, 'which also carried victuals, champagne and ice to refresh the distinguished Nimrod during the day'.[73] The most famous of the early safari travellers, American President Theodore Roosevelt, was particularly charmed by this mode of conveyance, pronouncing the Uganda Railway 'the most interesting railway journey in the world'.[74] Sitting back on the observation platform on 'a comfortable seat across the cow-catcher', the journey was, according to Roosevelt, 'literally like passing through a vast zoological garden'.[75]

Roosevelt's account of his 1909 safari, *African Game Trails: an Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist*, is one of the most complete records of this era of African travel, and his highly publicised trip began a craze for safaris among wealthy

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[71] 'The Uganda Railroad', *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 34 (1902), 311-12. For a lively account of the early days of the railway see Charles Miller, *The Lunatic Express: An Entertainment in Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1971).
[72] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa : The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 32.
[73] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 161.
[74] Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 10. The North American edition was published by Stanley's American publishers Scribners.
[75] Ibid., pp. 13, 15.

tourists in the early twentieth century.[76] Roosevelt's account highlights the oppositions of comfort and adventure, modernity and 'savagery', which constitute the African safari. These are the kind of contrasts and oppositions which are most forcefully perceived by the explorer, and it is exploration, in Roosevelt's opinion, which has brought about the intercultural contacts which most clearly define what progress really is:

> The great world movement which began with the voyages of Columbus and Vasco de Gama, and which has gone on with ever-increasing rapidity and complexity until our own time, had developed along a myriad lines of interest. In no way has it been more interesting than in the way in which it has been brought into sudden, violent, and intimate contact phases of the world's life-history which would normally be separated by untold centuries of slow development. Again and again, in the continents new to peoples of European stock, we have seen the spectacle of a high civilisation all at once thrust into and superimposed upon a wilderness of savage men and savage beasts. Nowhere, and at no time, has the contrast been more strange and more striking than in British East Africa during the last dozen years.[77]

British East Africa is set up – like the American frontier before it – as the epicentre of a clash of civilisations (or a clash of civilisation with 'savagery'), which is, in Roosevelt's eroticised description, a 'thrust' which is at all at once 'sudden, violent and intimate'. In Roosevelt's vision, the whole spectrum of human progress – from primordial savagery to industrial modernity – is visible at a glance. Anne McClintock has labelled this trope 'panoptical time', a fiction whereby 'the image of global history [can be] consumed at a glance in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility'.[78] The incongruity between the railroad and the surrounding topography – between culture and nature – is a favourite theme of Roosevelt's: 'It was strange to see a group of these savages, stark naked, with oddly shaved heads and filed teeth, armed with primitive bows and arrows, stand gravely gazing at the train as it rolled into some station'.[79] Roosevelt sees the land which lies between the two termini as essentially prehistoric, in utter contrast to the modernity, industry, and progress represented by the railroad:

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[76] Peter H. Capstick, *Safari: The Last Adventure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), pp. 10-12.
[77] Roosevelt, *African Game*, p. 1.
[78] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 36-39.
[79] Roosevelt, *African Game*, p. 15.

> This railroad, the embodiment of the eager, masterful, materialistic civilisation of to-day, was pushed through a region in which nature, both as regards wild man and wild beast, did not and does not differ materially from what it was in Europe in the late Pleistocene Age. The comparison is not fanciful. The teeming multitudes of wild creatures, the stupendous size of some of them, the terrible nature of others, and the low culture of many of the savage tribes, especially of the hunting tribes, substantially reproduces the conditions of life in Europe as it was led by our ancestors ages before the dawn of anything that can be called civilisation.

East Africa is, for Roosevelt, a 'great fragment out of the long-buried past of our race, [which] is now accessible by railroad to all who care to go hither'.[80] Roosevelt's insistence that an African safari allows access not only to the past but to the past of 'our' race is further emphasised by the book's epigram, a line translated from the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*: 'He loved the great game as if he were their father'.[81] Roosevelt's ideal of Saxon manliness was obviously indebted to his reading of travel and adventure literature, and he clearly demonstrates the traveller's impulse to experience the wilderness through the prism of earlier texts. On the boat to Mombasa, he communes with a group of English officers who 'might have walked out of the pages of Kipling'. Roosevelt's chosen hunting guide was the legendary R. J. Cunninghame, a character seemingly ripped from the pages of Rider-Haggard: 'lean, sinewy, bearded, exactly the type of hunter and safari manager that one would wish for such an expedition as ours'.[82] Roosevelt contributed a comprehensive survey of the literature of big game hunting (from Homer to the contemporary period) to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1898 which demonstrates not only his extensive reading in the genre but also the extent to which he had already formed a vivid impression of Africa before making his own safari. From literary evidence alone, he was convinced that a hunting trip to Africa must be like travelling back 'a few hundred thousand years for a hunting trip in the Pliocene or Plistocene' [sic].[83] Indeed, some critics saw Roosevelt's own safari narrative as a formulaic contribution to what by 1910 was already a tired genre: 'He had the usual adventures', complained the *English Review*, 'saw more than the usual sights (for the officials were well disposed), was charged by the usual rhinoceros, and was photographed for the frontispiece in the attitude of the conqueror over one of his big lions'.[84]

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[80] Roosevelt, *African Game*, pp. 2-3.
[81] Ibid., xxiv.
[82] Ibid., p. 20.
[83] Theodore Roosevelt, 'Books on Big Game', *Fortnightly Review*, 63 (1898), 604-11 (p. 609).
[84] 'Travel', *English Review*, Nov. 1910, p. 760.

Roosevelt's luggage included a personal travelling library, housed in an aluminium case weighing 60 pounds (apparently light enough to be carried by a single porter).[85] *African Game Trails* includes an appendix listing the over 60 works which made up this travelling collection, and around twenty other titles which the President managed to acquire during his travels.[86] As a finishing touch, Roosevelt had all the books in his library bound in hard-wearing pig-skin, a decision he helpfully explains:

> Often my reading would be done while resting under a tree at noon, perhaps beside the carcass of a beast I had killed, or else waiting for a camp to be pitched; and in either case it might be impossible to get water for washing. In consequence the books were stained with blood, sweat, gun oil, dust and ashes; ordinary bindings either vanished or became loathsome, whereas pigskin merely grew to look as a well-used saddle looks.[87]

These canonical works of Western literature, stained with blood and sweat and bound in saddle-hide, become the perfect symbol of the tourist's desire to shelter in familiar civilised comforts while indulging in the grittily 'primitive' or 'authentic' experiences of the explorer. Bradley Deane has discussed 'the apparent paradox of an imperialism that openly embraces the primitive' in relation to Late-Victorian adventure fiction. The challenge for the hybrid explorer-tourist was to contrive a controlled situation in which he could flirt with what Deane calls 'primitive masculinity' without entirely giving himself over to it.[88] By comparing the experience of the explorer with that of the tourist I am not suggesting that any of these expeditions were easy – exploratory travel in nineteenth-century Africa was life-threatening and almost always detrimental to the health of Europeans. I simply want to point out that the modes of travelling referred to as 'tourism' and 'exploration' in the nineteenth century were different by *degree* rather than *kind*. The relationship between the explorer and the tourist was symbiotic and was never a mere dispute over 'authenticity'. In a way, the tourist/traveller divide was an extension of an existing dialectic *within* the exploration narrative, a genre which was perpetually concerned with negotiating and demarcating the frontier between past and present, primitive and modern.

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[85] Roosevelt, *African Game*, p. 24.
[86] Ibid., pp. 521-28. The library is now part of the Roosevelt collection at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
[87] Ibid., pp. 522-23.
[88] Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Barbarians: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), 205-225 (p. 205).

4.4 Exhibiting Africa

Edward Marston witnessed the tourist's fascination with explorers first hand on his trip to Cairo. When he encountered two 'charming young' English Ladies, Marston presented them with a bouquet of roses from Stanley's Egyptian villa.

> They had been up the Nile, and being all three very good artists, had brought away with them innumerable well-executed sketches and drawings of ruins, pillars, inscriptions from Karnak and all the other well-known ruins on the river. They had a large collection of Egyptian antiquities, such as a mummified sacred cat, old pots, pans, coins, and beetles; but when they heard that these identical roses once grew in Stanley's garden every other Egyptian object became insignificant.[89]

Ultimately, Stanley's flowers – lying somewhere between historical artefacts, saintly relics, and celebrity memorabilia – become the only 'Egyptian object' worth having. But as the Ladies' collection of 'old pots, pans, coins, and beetles' demonstrates, the seemingly unsystematic amassing of foreign objects was an important activity for tourists as well as explorers. And even in the most authoritative ethnographic collections, the distinction between artefact, souvenir and relic was frequently blurred. As the archaeologist, ethnographer, and museum founder Augustus Lane Pitt-Rivers explained in 1874:

> Travellers, as a rule, have not yet embraced [a systematic methodology of collecting], and consequently the specimens in our museums, not having been systematically collected, cannot be scientifically arranged. They consist of miscellaneous objects brought home as reminisces of travel or of such as have been most easily procured by sailors at the sea-ports. Unlike natural history specimens which have for years past been selected with a view to variety, affinity, and sequence, these ethnological *curiosities* have been selected without any regard to their history or psychology.[90]

The earliest museums in Britain displayed curiosities collected by explorers. Objects brought back from Cook's voyages were displayed at William Bullock's Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, and would eventually form the basis of the ethnographic collection of the British

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[89] Marston, *How Stanley Wrote*, p. 61.

[90] Augustus Henry Lane Fox (Pitt-Rivers), *Catalogue of the Anthropological Collection Lent by Colonel Lane for the Exhibition in the Bethnal Green Museum* (London: Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, South Kensington, 1874), qtd. in Jonah Siegel, *The Emergence of the Modern Museum: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 309.

Museum.[91] But as the museum age reached its zenith at the end of the nineteenth century, this ad hoc collecting of curiosities and mementoes becomes a more serious business. Stanley was among the travellers who photographed, sketched, and collected large quantities of ethnographic material during his travels. In *Through the Dark Continent* he offers a glimpse of his own rather arbitrary methodology of collecting. In June 1876 Stanley arrived at a burnt-out village on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, scattered with dismembered corpses and the possessions of the former occupants: '[s]tools, mats, spears, drinking-vessels, cooking-pots of all sizes, walking-staffs, war clubs, baskets, trenchers, wooden basins, scoops, etc.' With objects 'scattered in such numbers', observes Stanley, 'an African Museum might have been completely stocked' (*TDC* 2: 20). A decade later during the EPRE, the Canadian engineer William G. Stairs, one of Stanley's officers, would recount a similar story in his journal.

> Stanley then went across to the village with the *Peace*, upon which all the niggers ran away [. . .] We in the *Stanley* [a steamer] came over, all our men being ready to land and my Maxim ready to murder them if they should dare attack us. We made a landing soon after and frightened all the natives out and took possession. Unfortunately, they had such a long warning, that all the fowls and goats had been driven out. We got, however, all sorts of curios, paddles, chairs, work tables, charms, drums, and dozens of different things.[92]

Once again the dirty work of imperialism – the violent looting a village of food and supplies – becomes an occasion for the opportunistic collection of 'curios', as tools and furniture are appropriated as souvenirs and ethnographic artefacts. In *The Art of Travel*, Francis Galton had advised accordingly:

> When your journey draws near its close, resist restless feelings; make every effort before it is too late to supplement deficiencies in your various collections; take stock of what you have gathered together, and think how the things will serve in England to illustrate your journey or your book. Keep whatever is pretty in itself, or is illustrative of your every-day life, or that of the savages, in the way of arms, utensils, and dresses.[93]

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[91] Siegel, p. 13.
[92] William G. Stairs, *African Exploits: The Diaries of William Stairs, 1887-1992*, ed. by Roy MacLaren (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), p. 86. Stairs also lead an expedition of four-hundred Congo Free State troops to Katanga in 1891. The expedition was responsible for the killing and beheading of Msiri, King of Katanga. Stairs died on the return journey to the coast. See Joseph Augustus Moloney, *With Captain Stairs to Katanga* (London: Sampson. Low, Marston & Co., 1893) and Johannes Fabian, *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 41-44.
[93] Galton, *Art of Travel*, p. 343-44.

As Galton explains, the practices of collecting and writing are intertwined; the ideal ethnographic object will be 'illustrative' of one's journey and will also compliment the textual representation of 'ever-day life' in a 'savage' country. It is no surprise to find illustrated plates in books of exploration which resemble cabinets of curiosities or the glass cases in an ethnographic museum. For example, the following illustration of the 'Treasure of Rumanika' in *Through the Dark Continent* demonstrates the haphazardness of the travelling collector bemoaned by Pitt-Rivers (Fig. 4.1). On first glance, the text offers little commentary on what we should make of this assemblage of objects, perhaps because there needs to be none. The message in its purest form is: 'These are African things. This is Africa'. Unlike the educative displays anticipated by Pitt-Rivers, these objects neither tell a story nor chart a process. Another motley collection of objects illustrated in the first edition of *How I Found Livingstone* is labelled 'Pot Pourri' (*HIFL* 554-55) – a title also given to a similar illustration in Verney Lovett Cameron's *Across Africa* (1877) (Fig. 4.2).[94] Such modes of presentation suggest that eclecticism and randomness are partly the point. These objects enhance the 'reality effect' of the exploration narrative and – like souvenirs – endorse the traveller's claim to have been to a particular place but they reveal little of their own provenance.

Stanley himself played an important role in the establishment one of the major African exhibitions of the 1890s. The Stanley and African Exhibition (SAE) opened in March 1890 at the Victoria Gallery, Regent's Street to coincide with the explorer's return from the EPRE. The promoters of the SAE offered not only to commemorate Stanley's expedition but to recreate the *experience* of African travel. On 25 February 1890 the *Daily News* announced the forthcoming exhibition with the headline 'Africa in London.'

> To reproduce Africa in London, or even a portion of it, is undoubtedly what, in the language of the day, may be called a big order. It is, however, to be attempted, if not on an Olympian scale, at least seriously and in a manner worthy of so interesting a subject, at the Stanley and African Exhibition, which is announced for opening at the Victoria Gallery.

The exhibition, which was jointly patronised by Queen Victoria and King Leopold of Belgium, offered a simulated African experience, 12 hours a day, every day, from March through to November 1890.[95] Admission was one shilling. *The Times* describes how the

[94] Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 193.
[95] Leopold II visited the exhibition on 26 March 1890. *The Times*, 27 Mar. 1890, p. 9.

visitor is invited to re-enact the exploration adventure, entering through the recreated 'camp of an explorer [. . .] pitched in the midst of some extraordinary scenery' until he 'passes through the encampment and the alcoved vestibule' and 'finds himself in the heart of Africa'.[96] The SAE was therefore both an event generated *by* travel and a spectacle simulative *of* travel. As Annie Coombes points out, the spectator at the SAE was 'constructed through the narrative of the expedition, as an explorer' and was thus 'able to gain the 'experience' of the seasoned traveller'.[97] Although much like the safari, the immersion in the experience was always likely to be disrupted by the intrusions of civilisation. A notice to 'beware of pickpockets' broke one visitor's suspension of disbelief: 'This struck me as being rather funny, as we were supposed to enter an African village where one would have thought that pockets, to say nothing of those who picked them, were unknown'. [98] The most elaborate attempt to recreate the 'Dark Continent' was seen in the life-size model of an 'African' village complete with genuine 'natives', Gootoo and Inyokwana, two orphaned former slaves from Swaziland. The two boys stood beside a reconstructed hut 'completely fitted with native weapons, domestic utensils, and agricultural implements' and periodically entertained visitors entertained visitors by dancing and hammering out 'primitive music' on a wooden 'dulcimer'.[99] The exhibition memorabilia included a pamphlet on the 'History of the Two Boys', which informed visitors that the 'two little boys are natives of Umzila's country, which lies to the north of Transvaal and east of Matebeleland'.[100] The 'History' of the boys, which describes the killing of their parents by a despotic chief who subsequently sell them into slavery, bears a strong resemblance to Stanley's own novel *My Kalulu* (1873). This 'romance for boys' (which was inspired by Stanley's young servants Selim and Kalulu) told of a blossoming companionship between an African and an Arab boy who team up to escape the machinations of murderous tribes and Arab slavers. Coombes suggests that the language of Stanley's travelogues and the anti-slavery rhetoric of the exhibition organisers both

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[96] *The Times*, 21 Mar. 1890, p. 14.
[97] Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and the Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 69.
[98] *Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 8 Apr. 1890, p. 164.
[99] Ibid., p. 164.
[100] *The History of the Two Boys*. RGS, Stanley Collection, HMS 7/1. According to the 'History', the boys' original names were Imavokywana and M'Gokwackvela. On the controversies surrounding this aspect of the exhibition see Driver, *Geography Militant*, 146-69. For more on the popular trend of ethnographic exhibitions (or 'human zoos') throughout the period see Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 268-287; Raymond Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930', *Cultural Anthropology*, 8 (1993), 338-369; Pascal Blanchard (ed.), *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

'informed the dramaturgy of the exhibition'.[101] Unlike the majority of colonial exhibitions, the SAE offers the visitor both a setting and a protagonist in emulation of the hybridised form of exploration narratives, which blend the individual quest of the hero (Stanley) with a supposedly objective account of an unexplored region (Africa). Stanley had long worked to refine this generic blend. '*Ego* is first in this book', announced the explorer in *How I Found Livingstone* (*HIFL* 69), explaining that an effective travel writer is one who honestly records his subjective impressions and feelings rather than feigning disinterestedness or scientific objectivity. Nonetheless, Stanley's books usually included special chapters of 'geographical and ethnographical remarks' and part of his success lay in his ability to provide a lively and eclectic mix of information and narrative that catered for tastes of a broad readership. Similarly, the SAE presented the visitor with a barrage of information and physical objects, but lest they should forget who the real star of the show was, there were also over a dozen portraits and two busts of Stanley on display throughout the exhibition.[102] A contemporary cartoon mocking the proliferation of Stanley's image and relics within the exhibition featured a 'cactus sat on by Stanley', a 'cigar smoked by Stanley', and a displaced shirt-button from the explorer's famous outfit (Fig. 4.3). This burlesque only slightly exaggerates the idolatrous atmosphere of the exhibition, where visitors were invited to admire Stanley's hat, boots and various other soiled accoutrements.

As early as 1902, J. A. Hobson had noted that late-Victorian imperialism had been fuelled by the 'spectatorial lust of Jingoism' and the exhibition was structured around a set of cultural assumptions that helped to justify and propagandise the imperial project.[103] The organisers of the exhibition, who included Charles Allen, secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, envisioned the expedition as a contribution to the 'civilising mission' and at Stanley's request the profits went towards a fund to launch a steamer on Lake Victoria.[104] Coombes suggests that the ideological work of the SAE was complicated in so far as Africans were presented as both exoticised spear-wielding barbarians and pathetic victims of the dehumanising Arab slave trade. The exhibition 'served to reinforce the notion of these races as unwilling victims of heathenism and despotism, but ultimately salvageable and susceptible to training' and in need of 'the firm guidance of those races more fortunate than themselves'.[105]

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[101] Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, pp. 66-68.
[102] *The Times*, 21 March 1890, p.14.
[103] J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: James Nisbet, 1902), p. 227.
[104] 'Resolutions for a Meeting of the Stanley Fund' (17 May 1890). RMCA, TS Stanley Archive 5043.
[105] Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, p, 81.

The bulk of the exhibition was taken up by the 'Native Section', a collection of ethnographic displays arranged geographically. This section boasted 'Murderous Weapons, Extraordinary Dresses and Ornaments, Primitive Implements, Strange Fetishes, Idols &c., chiefly from the collections of famous travellers, missionaries, and sportsmen'.[106] The extent to which any of these ethnographic displays promoted an interest or an objective consideration of African civilisation is doubtful. However, the weaponry on display particularly entranced the reviewer from the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

> After having grasped the exhibits the first impression it will leave on you is that the Africans are a fine race of cutlers. Never, before surely, has such a collection of disagreeable-looking blades been gathered together. Sharp blades and blunt blades; blades with a hook to them [. . .] in fact every blade is literally crying out for gore. The beauty of this armoury; at least from the Rider Haggard point of view, is that every blade has, at one time or another, actually been busy.[107]

The African gallery, the visitor concludes, is 'a veritable chamber of terrors.' Leaving the 'native section', the reviewer next encounters a completely different category of object: 'These barbaric trophies, however picturesque and horrible, pale in interest before the personal relics which have been secured from various sources.' It was the 'relics' of explorers such as Livingstone and Mungo Park, which attracted most attention from visitors. Boots, pipes, compasses, and fishhooks were all 'surrounded by a halo of romance' by dint of their association with the martyrs of exploration.[108] Gordon's last letters provoked a 'melancholy interest', while patrons could not remain 'unmoved' at the sight of a watch owned by the Bishop Hannington, the missionary 'martyred' by the Bugandans in 1885.[109] The attraction of these relics is hardly surprising when we consider the mode of presentation at the exhibition. These cluttered cabinets filled mostly with blades must have seemed monotonous, impersonal, and brutal compared with the 'relics' of General Gordon and Doctor Livingstone, imbued, as they were, with rich sentimental histories.

In her work on the metonymic significance of 'things' in nineteenth-century fiction, Elaine Freedgood observes the literature of empire built up 'dense catalogs of the raw materials of the world outside Britain', a textual flow which mirrored the influx of foreign

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[106] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 March 1890, p. 4
[107] 'The Stanley and African Exhibition', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 March 1890, p. 3
[108] Ibid., p. 3. Mungo Park's Relics were lent by the publisher John Murray. *Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 8 Apr. 1890, p. 164
[109] Ibid., p. 164.

commodities into Britain.[110] In a similar way the SAE demonstrates the fertile interaction between physical artefacts and literary things. While the novels of Rider Haggard informed the ways in which the exhibition goer 'read' objects in a display case, the objects at the SAE would no doubt have informed the reader's engagement with literary representations of Africa. Rider Haggard's African adventure *She* (1887) begins with a lengthy pseudo-scholarly discussion of the 'Sherd of Amenartas'; and the author even went so far as to commission a mock-up of the ancient pottery fragment with which he attempted to dupe London antiquaries.[111] John Plotz suggests that this influx 'from the edges of empire' of 'core artifacts still freighted with foreign meaning' was a cause for anxiety. Such objects might 'refuse to become commodities, and instead keep their 'native' cultural essence about them', a reversal of the diffusionist project to export an essentialised version of Englishness to the outposts of empire.[112] But the prospect of 'Africa in London' hardly seems to have been a worrying counter-narrative for the evangelists of Greater Britain. The SAE seems rather to stage a dialectic of import and export, where the influx of barbaric trophies and the diffusion of British culture and religion are intimately intertwined. The fearsome barbarity of African spears enforces the poignant humanity of the relics of Livingstone; the disturbing inscrutability of fetishes and totems in one gallery justifies the rational and enlightened project of Christianity and Commerce vaunted in the next. The displays of weaponry evoke a Rider Haggard-style gothic adventure story, while a pious sentimental drama is embodied in the venerated relics of Livingstone. The evangelical martyr to the Protestant work ethic is ironically worshipped through practices redolent of popish idolatry and African fetish worship. In its preview of the exhibition, the *Daily Telegraph* emphasised the dual nature of the exhibition as both simulated adventure and site of worship:

> All those who desire to undertake a veritable voyage through the Dark Continent, study its races, its people, its habits and customs, its religions, its relics and records, should pay a pilgrimage to the shrine of all that can be collected concerning Africa.[113]

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[110] Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), p. 149.
[111] Peter Beresford Ellis, *Henry Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite* (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 117.
[112] Plotz, *Portable Property*, p. 22. Plotz is drawing here on Stephen Arata's notion of 'reverse colonisation', a trope whereby 'British culture sees its own imperial practices mirrored back in monstrous forms' in novels such as *Dracula* and *She*. Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 107.
[113] *Daily Telegraph*, 22 Mar. 1890, p. 5.

In the exploration text, narrative sections are disrupted by pages of ethnographic illustrations; in the same way the exhibition juxtaposes the sentimental narrative implied by the relics with the ostensible objectivity of the ethnographic display. By juxtaposing the explorer and the savage, the collector and the collected, and by placing the 'primitive' alongside the 'modern', the exhibition dictates how individual objects are read. We read the display of the primitive – the import of 'Africa' to London – as a function of the modernising work of exploration.

Walter Benjamin suggests that the great industrial and trade exhibitions of the nineteenth-century were 'places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish', and although the SAE was not a trade exhibition in the tradition of the Great Exhibition of 1851, it did retain elements of those conventions.[114] Despite the emphasis on objects which highlighted the barbarity of Africa – including 'fetishes' – advertisements also promised a glimpse of 'African Arts and Industries' and a 'Bechuana-Land' hut 'completely fitted up' with African furniture and accessories.[115] Perhaps, then, the fetish worship which so fascinated European travellers and the commodity fetish which lured pilgrims to the great industrial exhibitions were not so far removed. As we have seen, Stanley's narrative of imperial progress relied not only on the construction of Africa as the benighted 'Dark Continent' but also in recognising the potential for its development along Anglo-Saxon lines, including the acknowledgment of nascent forms of indigenous capitalism.[116] Many comic reactions to the exhibits relied on the satirical description of the ethnographic section in the language of modern consumer culture. 'The African ladies evidently do not run up long bills at their milliners', joked the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 'to judge from the varieties of concessions to modesty which I encountered, for they consisted only of a few square inches of a grass drapery'.[117] Indeed some visitors were quick to draw parallels between the ostensibly ethnographic function of the SAE's 'Native Section' and the kinds of 'fetish' encouraged by the commodities of industrial capitalism. Remarking on a cheap piece of factory 'brummagem' supposedly repurposed as a West African fetish, one reviewer wryly observed that African 'Fetish-worship is so rampant [. . .] that the natives will even bow down before gods (spelt

[114] Walter Benjamin, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century', in *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 3-13 (p. 7).
[115] *Pall Mall Gazette* 24 Mar. 1890, p. 4
[116] In 1900 Stanley wrote that the Central African's 'capacity for improvement is evinced by the beautiful brass and iron ornaments and weapons of the Mabodé [. . .] by the hut architecture and domestic utensils of the Monbuttu, the grass clothes of the Bateke and the trading shrewdness and enterprise of the By-yanzi'. H. M. Stanley, 'The Origin of the Negro Race', *North American Review*, 170 (1900), 656-665 (p. 662).
[117] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 Mar. 1890, p. 3.

with one o or with two) supplied from prosaic Birmingham'.[118] In a front-page story in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stanley was held responsible for a new fashion of 'exploration mania' among the London glitterati, and the extension of the commodity fetish to African paraphernalia. When the comic actor Lionel Brough returned from the Transvaal, his Lambeth residence was filled with so many souvenirs that it resembled 'a section of the Stanley and African Exhibition, for the rooms are bestrewn with spears, assegais, shields, bird's-nests, knobkerrie sticks, native-made baskets, and other trophies'.[119] Exhibitions and safaris encouraged urban spectators to imbibe the rhetoric of imperialism and to enact the modernising encounter with otherness central to the exploration text. In this way, both the safari and the African exhibition were channels through which the modernising force of the frontier exerted itself on the inhabitants of the metropolis.

4.5 Exploration in Performance

Anti-tourists had feared travel would become a no more enlightening experience than a trip to Barnum's circus, and Stanley's popularity was due as much to his abilities as a showman as to his reputation as an explorer. Although Stanley's most recent biographer, Tim Jeal, has gone to great lengths to portray Stanley as a reluctant celebrity, contemporary commentators frequently emphasised Stanley's penchant for sensationalism and showmanship.[120] The lecture circuit was highly profitable for Stanley and it occupied most of his time between expeditions. This was the age of public speaking as entertainment, when the likes of Charles Dickens, Oscar Wilde, and Stanley's colleague Edwin Arnold made huge sums of money through lucrative lecture tours of Britain, America and the Colonies. On the completion of the Livingstone mission, Stanley was soon narrating his journey to eager audiences in a diverse set of venues across Britain. The most notorious of these events was his address to the Geographical Section of the British Association conference at Brighton in August 1872, an event which Felix Driver claims 'served to widen a growing rift between Stanley and the geographical establishment'.[121] The audience of three thousand people included not only esteemed scientists such as Francis Galton and John Lubbock but also Lady Franklin (widow of the Arctic explorer), the Japanese

[118] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 Mar. 1890, p. 6.
[119] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 June 1890, p. 1.
[120] Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London: Faber, 2008), passim.
[121] Driver *Geography Militant*, p. 128.

ambassadors to Britain, and the recently exiled Emperor and Empress of France. The organisers expected Stanley to deliver an academic paper on the geography of Lake Tanganyika but the versions of Stanley's address recorded in the press indicate that he was more concerned with playing to the galleries. He began with an emotive sketch of Livingstone's travels in Africa.

> Ladies and Gentlemen, – I consider myself in the light of a Troubadour to-day bringing you a tale of an old man tramping onward to discover the source of the Nile. I mean to tell you how I found that old man at Ujiji after his travel; I mean to tell you of his woes and sufferings; I mean to tell you how he suffered and how he bore those sufferings with the Christian and patient endurance of a hero.[122]

Stanley offered the crowd a condensed narrative of his journey and his subsequent determination to 'carry the news to the first telegraph station, and so give the news to the world'. Presumably aware of the presence of the Napoleon III, Stanley again told the story of how he had sated the news-hungry missionary with a dramatic account of the fall of the Second French Empire. His lively lecture pleased most of the audience, who responded throughout with 'loud applause' and appreciative laughter. Francis Galton, who was chairing the session, was less enamoured and took the opportunity to remind the audience that the British Academy was 'a serious society constituted for the purpose of dealing with geographical facts and not sensational stories'. The aggravation escalated as Stanley took a populist, anti-intellectual line in his riposte to the 'most worthy President, Mr. Francis Galton, FRGS, FRSXYZ and I don't know how many other letters'.[123] When Galton raised the sensitive issue of Stanley's uncertain nationality during a toast at a conference dinner, Stanley managed to turn Galton's jibe into a cheeky plug for his forthcoming book:

> Mr. Stanley answered first a query put to him by [Galton] as to his nationality by saying that he was sent to look for Dr. Livingstone he was not asked to look for himself . . . Amid loud cheers and laughter he said he should publish a book, in which he would give his biography, besides information about Geographical Societies quite devoid of

[122] *The Times*, 17 Aug. 1872, p. 10

[123] H. M. Stanley, Journal, 16 Aug. 1872, RMCA, MS 12. The major source for both Galton's jibes and Stanley's ripostes is Stanley's own journal, extracts from which were later included in his *Autobiography* (1909). These incidents were, however, covered in more general terms by several newspapers. See, for example, 'The British Association at Brighton', *Daily News*, 19 August 1872, p. 2

> 'sensationalism' and he advised Mr. Galton to procure that book if he needed any personal information.[124]

Stanley followed his mixed reception at Brighton with a series of successful performances throughout the autumn of 1872. Just before his departure for New York in November, Stanley gave two lectures in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly – the venue which had hosted Dickens's 'Farewell Readings' two years earlier. Stanley's 'lively and minute description' of his search for Livingstone, delivered in a 'florid' style, met the approval of a sympathetic audience on both nights, as the venue's resident act – the famous Moore and Burgess Minstrels – entertained in the adjoining hall.[125] The advertisement emphasised the narrative element of Stanley's lectures, offering a digest of the explorer's 'ADVENTURES IN CENTRAL AFRICA', while also promoting Stanley's recently published book.[126] On his return to America, Stanley set off on another lecture tour for which he was reportedly paid £10,000 plus expenses.[127] He made his New York debut at Manhattan's Steinway Hall in December 1872 – another venue which had been graced by Dickens.[128] A report of this event the *New York Times* gives us an interesting glimpse of the distinctively cluttered *mise-en-scène* that came to characterise the Stanley lecture experience:

> The stage was decorated with the tattered Union flag which Stanley carried to Ujiji, and a red and white bunting, supposed to be the flag of some tribe of Central Africa, hung from a spear. Numerous javelins, bows and arrows, and other rude weapons, were displayed in front of the stage. A number of pieces of party-coloured cloth were suspended in the rear, and a large chart of Equatorial Africa, showing the recent discoveries of Speke, Baker, and Livingstone [. . .] and Mr. Stanley's track from Zanzibar to Ujiji, occupied the left of the stage.[129]

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[124] *The Times*, 22 Aug. 1872, p. 10.
[125] *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 10 Nov. 1872, p. 2.
[126] *Daily News*, 2 Nov. 1872, p. 4. According to this advertisement, the lectures were organised by W. J. Bullock, who was also proprietor of the Royal Marionettes, a popular touring puppet show. John McCormick, *The Victorian Marionette Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), p. 31
[127] *New York Herald*, 6 Oct. 1872, qtd. in Bennett, *Stanley's Despatches*, p. xxvi.
[128] James L. Newman, *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley's African Journeys* (Washington DC: Potomac, 2004), p. 84.
[129] *New York Times*, 4 Dec. 1872, p. 5. Unsurprisingly, the *New York Times* took the opportunity to slate the *Herald* correspondent's performance. More unusual was the negative review of Stanley's lectures in the *Herald*. Don Seitz claims this piece was written by George Seilhamer, a sycophantic staff-writer, who hoped to please his jealous editor by lampooning Stanley. *The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merill, 1928), p. 299.

The *Times* also reported that Stanley was also accompanied on stage by the 'small black boy, Kalula' [sic]. *Carte-de-visite* images by the London Stereoscopic Company pictured Stanley against a painted African backdrop in 'the dress he wore when he meet Dr. Livingstone' and in several of the images Kalulu is also present, barefoot and naked above the waist, bearing his master's rifle or serving the seated explorer a cup of tea. London's *Penny Illustrated Paper* pictured Stanley and Kalulu on its front page in August 1872, describing the boy as 'the best possible souvenir of the arduous and terrible time of it he had in his expedition to and from Ujiji'.[130] Stanley had, of course, carefully managed his image from the moment of his return, and even made an exclusive deal with the London Stereoscopic Company 'to have his portrait taken only by them'.[131] Around the same time Madame Tussaud's also commissioned a wax-work of Stanley and Kalulu.[132]

In January 1873, P. T. Barnum himself wrote to Stanley and invited him to appear with his 'great Rail Road Museum, Menagerie & Hippodrome the coming tour season'. Despite Barnum's promise that the publicity would help promote Stanley's book and that the explorer would be 'comfortably fixed' in a 'private sleeping car', Stanley appears to have declined the invitation.[133] When he lectured on the AAE, the one-hundred-date lecture tour – which promised 'a narrative of Mr Stanley's last journey through Africa' – was managed by Richard D'Oyly Carte, the owner of the Savoy Theatre and the impresario behind Gilbert and Sullivan's successful comic operas.[134] Picking up the explorer's theatrical connections, *Punch* portrayed the explorer in a sailor's outfit belting out numbers from *H.M.S. Pinafore*.[135] In 1890 a book-length burlesque of *In Darkest Africa* by Francis Burnand, the editor of *Punch*, cast Stanley as an opportunistic travelling showman leading a troop of musicians across the continent.[136] Deflatingly, in 1891 the *Era* reported that one young devotee who went to see Stanley lecture at St. Georges Hall, Liverpool was surprised to find an 'ugly beggar' telling 'funny stories' and singing 'comic songs', before realising that he had accidentally stumbled into a performance by another D'Oyly Carte star, the comedian and *Diary of a Nobody* author George Grossmith.[137]

In November 1890, after an opening performance in front of a 'tremendous audience' at New York's Metropolitan Opera House, Stanley set off on a five-month

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130 *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 24 Aug. 1872, p. 116.
131 *Daily News*, 19 Aug. 1872, p. 2
132 Jeal, *Stanley*, p. 147.
133 P. T. Barnum to Stanley, New York, 8 Jan. 1873. RMCA, MS 2820.
134 *Era*, 15 Sept. 1878, p. 4.
135 'How I Couldn't Find Stanley,' *Punch*, 5 Oct. 1878, p. 150.
136 Francis Cowley Burnand, *A New Light Thrown across the Keep It Quite Darkest Africa* (London: Trischler & Co, 1891); Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 122-24.
137 *Era*, 18 Apr. 1891, p. 10.

lecture of North America in a customised Pullman railway carriage, complete with 'dining saloon[…] 2 lavatories, 2 W.C, kitchen, pantry & "observatory"'.[138] Although he regaled his audiences nightly with the hardships and privations of African travel, his journal is filled with complaints about the 'wretched' service in American hotels. His inability to order a sandwich in Toledo led to dramatic apostrophising: 'Dear me! How the American people suffer! What sweet patience under intolerable ills & inconveniences, or else what barbarians not to know what comforts are!'[139] His audiences included current and former Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Rutherford B. Hayes, and one of America's most successful lecturers, the poet and critic Oliver Wendell Holmes.[140] The choice of venues was just as diverse, ranging from a skating rink in Syracuse, New York to the State House of Representatives in Topeka, Kansas.[141] Stanley meticulously records his takings throughout. At the end of the epic tour, which included 110 lectures in 145 days, he recorded total receipts of $65,000.[142] Major James Burton Pond, a lecture agent who had organised US tours for many of the great authors of the day (including Matthew Arnold and Mark Twain), pronounced Stanley his must lucrative client yet.[143]

Of all the European explorers of Africa, Stanley was certainly the most successful at presenting his narratives in extra-literary forms. He had benefited from the rising popularity of geography as a discipline and the proliferation of regional geographical societies around Britain from the 1880s onwards. From Southampton to Aberdeen, these establishments provided Stanley with a willing audience of professionals who were often far more sympathetic to the promotion of exploration as a commercial endeavour than the 'scientific travellers' of the London RGS.[144] As Stanley's profile increased the demand grew. When his road-show passed through the North East in 1890 he was persuaded to lecture the Tyneside Geographical Society by the offer of the Freedom of the City of Durham and an honorary doctorate from the University. His appearance ensured the survival of the Society and directly resulted in a huge surge in applications for membership.[145] Although the lecture circuit had long provided opportunities for travellers and authors, Stanley pushed geography beyond the bounds of both the elite learned societies like the RGS and

[138] Stanley, Journal (11, 23 Nov. 1890). RMCA, MS 81.
[139] Ibid. (29 Nov. 1890).
[140] Ibid. (5 Dec., 29 Nov., 18 Nov., 1890).
[141] Ibid. (1 Dec. 1890, 2 Mar. 1891).
[142] Ibid. (5 Apr. 1891).
[143] P. J. Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations : Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 600.
[144] John M. Mackenzie, 'The Provincial Geographical Societies in Britain, 1884-1914' in *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940*, ed. by Morag Bell, Robin Butlin, and Michel Heffernan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 93-124 (p. 94-95).
[145] Ibid., pp. 104, 113.

philanthropic settings such as Mechanics Institutes and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He presented exploration as entertainment and utilised a range of media in his efforts to share his experiences with as broad an audience as possible.

The proprietors of independent theatrical and audiovisual spectacles were quick to exploit Stanley's exciting narratives. In September 1872, soon after Stanley's controversial address to the British Association, Mr. H. W. Rippin's presented a 'Moving Diorama' of 'Dr. Livingstone's Travels in Africa' in St. Martin Street near Leicester Square. The scenes, which the organiser claimed were based on 'photographs, &c., brought home by Mr H. M. Stanley', included '"Kalulu", the African Boy', 'Meeting of Livingstone and Stanley' and even a 'Fac similie [sic] of Livingstone's Letter'. The show was followed in the second half by a rather less exotic 'Excursion through Scotland' and the 'Laughable Adventures of an Old Bachelor'.[146]

Probably the most successful attempts to simulate travel in spectacular form were achieved by a series of shows known as Poole's Myriorama. From their studios in Malmesbury and Bristol, the Poole family operated six moving panorama shows, which travelled throughout Britain and Ireland from the early 1880s.[147] The Myriorama consisted of a scrolling canvas that revealed a series of paintings (30 x 15ft) 'on fine gauze screens, manipulated one in front of another.' Alterations in lighting were used to give the illusion of three dimensions and the spectacle was further enhanced by a range of elaborate sound effects, a musical score, and an informative lecture. [148] The Pooles consciously borrowed the language of Cook and the excursionists to promote their shows, promising 'CHEAP TRIPS ABROAD TO ALL CLIMES! / At All Seasons and under All Aspects'. They even issued tickets that replicated the format of Cook's famous excursion vouchers. One audience member at Dublin's Rotunda later recalled paintings that 'embraced views of most countries in the world – and a sort of travel guide would stand at the corner of the stage and explain the various objects of interest'.[149]

As a review from the *Telegraph* makes clear, the panoramic 'grand tour' and the military expansion of empire where closely intertwined: 'The panoramic journey around the world not only illustrates the scenery of Egypt, India, and Russia but commemorates all the

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[146] 'Moving Diorama of Dr Livingstone's travels in Central Africa', Evanion Collection, British Library, Evan.859

[147] Hudson John Powell, *Poole's Myriorama! A Story of Travelling Panorama Showmen* (Bradford on Avon: ELSP, 2002), p. 9.

[148] Powell, p. 101; Stephen Bottomore, *The Titanic and Silent Cinema* (Uckfield: Windmill Press, 2000), p. 65.

[149] Delia Moore, 'Dublin in the Nineties: Forerunners of the Movies', *Evening Herald*, 3 Jan. 1941, p. 4.

recent historical events associated with Alexandria, Bombay, and Moscow'. The *Echo* praised the Poole's show in similar terms.

> Not alone are the battle-fields of Egypt and the Soudan represented, but the spectator is taken on a most enjoyable trip round the world, lightly passing from the vast colonies of Australia and New Zealand to countries nearer home. The bombardment of Alexandria, the charge of the Life Guards at Kassassin, and the fight at Tel-el-Kebir are treated in a masterly manner, the interest being enhanced by a lecture full of information.[150]

Poole's emphasis on the colonial wars in Egypt and the Sudan is significant (Fig. 4.4). Cook's Nile steamers had played a major role in these campaigns and Stanley's EPRE was an ineffectual intervention against the spread of the Mahdist regime in the Sudan. In an interview Charles Poole made clear parallels between the flow of news from Africa and the popularity of the Myriorama shows. 'Our public soon forgets', he complained in 1889, 'I used to show Gordon in Khartoum, and he always got a rousing cheer. Now he's no good – no good!' Similarly, as Stanley's expedition disappeared off the media radar in the equatorial forest, the explorer was in Poole's opinion 'Dead or out of sight – out o' mind too.'[151] Despite Poole's lack of faith in Stanley's ability to draw the crowds, 'Stanley in Africa!' was one the scenes advertised for Poole's 1889 show at Sanger's Amphitheatre in Lambeth, where the explorer's adventures featured alongside excursions to the Panama Canal and more bloody battles from 'Egypt and the Sudan'. Variety interludes were provided by Professor Devereux and his 'Renowned Troop of Performing Dogs and Monkeys' and the 'Black and White Variety and Sketch Artistes' Falconbridge and Beere.[152]

By 1891 'Stanley in Darkest Africa!' was pushed to the top of the bill in Harry Poole's 'Picturesque Myriorama' (Fig. 4.5). By offering to simulate the 'Difficulties and Dangers of Exploration', Poole demonstrates the showman's desire to replicate some of the narrative aspects which had made Stanley a popular author.[153]A poster for the 'Darkest Africa' panorama in Hastings shows Stanley triumphantly leading his advance column out of the Ituri forest and striking out for Lake Albert. The poster borrows elements from a chromolithograph image in the 'Stanley Number' of the *Graphic*, demonstrating the ways in

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[150] Qtd. in the programme for 'Harry Poole's Picturesque Myriorama: Trips Abroad and Latest Events' (1891), Evanion Collection, Evan. 2839.
[151] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 Aug. 1889, p. 3.
[152] Notice for 'Chas. W. Poole's Myriorama' at Sanger's Amphitheatre, Lambeth, 1889. Evanion Collection, British Library, Evan.583. Sanger's stood on a site previously occupied by Astley's Circus, immortalised by Dickens in one of his *Sketches by Boz* (1836).
[153] Programme for 'Harry Poole's Picturesque Myriorama' (Hastings, Dec. 1891), Evanion Collection, Evan.2839.

which various media forms (periodicals, books, and popular shows) were all colonising each other.[154] Indeed, the 'variety' aspect of Poole's shows bears some resemblance to the montage of news and fiction, comedy and tragedy, encountered in contemporary periodicals: from the middle-class *Fortnightly Review* and *Nineteenth Century* to the sensational *Illustrated Police News*. Newspapers also carried coupons for the Myrioramas, which could then be cut out and presented at the box office for discounted admission.[155] In this sense, Stanley's exploration narratives can be seen as points of confluence and interchange between various developing media forms.

As Poole explained in his interview with the *Pall Mall*, variety entertainment was a necessary adjunct to the images and sound effects of show, lest 'the audience don't get bored of too much canvas'.[156] These incongruous juxtapositions and generic montages at the Myriorama raise questions about the reception and the consumption of Stanley's 'narratives' in these contexts. Was the high earnestness of Stanley's struggle through the equatorial forest enforced or undermined when followed up by a comedian or a performing dog? More specifically, was there any interplay between different characterisations of race presented during the course of the evening? How would an audience which had just watched Gordon's death at Khartoum or Stanley's battles with the 'savages' of the Congo react to Mr. W. Matthews 'in his Original and laughable Negro Entertainment'?[157]

The Myrioramas also illustrate how Stanley's narratives reached an economically diverse audience. Even if we restrict ourselves to Poole's shows, the audience was geographically and socially heterogeneous. Admission prices ranged from 3d stall seating to £1 1s (1 guinea) boxes. Furthermore, Poole's shows were not confined to London and the South West; they toured widely around Britain and Ireland. We might expect the audience's tastes to have differed between London, the industrial North, Scotland and Ireland. But there is little evidence that the Pooles altered their shows to any great extent. Imperial themes (including Stanley's expeditions) proved popular even in Ireland. In July 1892, at the height of a general election which would propel the Irish Home Rule Party into partnership with Gladstone's minority government, Poole presented a show at Dublin's Rotunda theatre, which included the 'Darkest Africa' scenes, a 'trip' to Venice, and a

[154] *Graphic*, 30 Apr. 1890, unpag.
[155] Powell, p. 128.
[156] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 Aug. 1889, p. 3.
[157] 'Harry Poole's Picturesque Myriorama', Evan.2839.

recreation of the London Lord Mayor's Show.[158] Although none of these shows were 'authorised' productions, they borrowed liberally from both Stanley's text and the richly-illustrated volumes produced by Sampson Low. Similarly, although Stanley was not directly involved in the organisation of the SAE, he lent it his full support in addition to many of his material 'relics'.

The images we have of Stanley's lectures, like this illustration from the *Graphic* of his RGS address at the Royal Albert Hall in May 1890 (fig. 4.6), are comparable to the few surviving images of Poole's Myriorama in action.[159] In a similar way, Stanley would perform in front of large visual aids, such as a map of Central Africa, while illustrating his narrative with a selection of African props. But we can also see the skills of the showman at work in Stanley's writing. The opening passage of *In Darkest Africa* (1890), the work which formed the basis for Poole's show of 1891, has much in common with the scope of contemporary Myriorama shows. Before Stanley leads the reader on a narrative of adventure, he offers us a melodramatic panorama of the recent military campaigns of Egypt and the Sudan:

> ONLY a Carlyle in his maturest period, as when he drew in lurid colours the agonies of the terrible French Revolution, can do justice to the long catalogue of disasters which has followed the connection of England with Egypt. It is a theme so dreadful throughout, that Englishmen shrink from touching it [. . .] After the Egyptian campaign there is only one bright gleam of sunshine throughout months of oppressive darkness, and that shone over the immortals of Abu-Klea and Gubat, when that small body of heroic Englishmen struggled shoulder to shoulder on the sands of the fatal desert, and won a glory equal to that which the Light Brigade were urged to gain at Balaclava . . . If only a portion of that earnestness of purpose exhibited at Abu-Klea had been manifested by those responsible for ordering events, the Mahdi would soon have become only a picturesque figure to adorn a page or to point a metaphor, and not the terrible portent of these latter days, whose presence blasted every vestige of civilization in the Soudan to ashes. (*IDA* 11-12)

Stanley's Carlylean vision of military disaster and the triumph of barbarism in the Sudan is narrated with all the swagger and breadth of a West End master of ceremonies. Furthermore the synaesthetic qualities of his myrioramic prose are intensified by his

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[158] Powell, pp. 100-101. In Joyce's *Ulysses* Molly Bloom recalls a married man 'flirting with a young girl at Poole's Myriorama'. Joyce may have witnessed one of the shows at the Dublin Rotunda on Parnell Square. The venue was around the corner from Belvedere College on Great Denmark Street, which Joyce attended between 1893 and 1898. James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. by Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 691.

[159] See Bottomore, p. 67.

insistence on blurring the literary and the visual. Stanley's 'long catalogue' of disasters sounds like the programme for a panoramic show and the passage concludes by willing the destruction of Britain's enemy, the Mahdi. Victory will only be achieved once this 'terrible portent' is transformed into a controllable representation in image and text: 'a picturesque figure' or a pointed 'metaphor'.

While we might expect an experienced explorer to be sceptical of ersatz efforts to simulate the African experience, Stanley frequently expressed his approval of such exhibitions. In 1899 he wrote an appreciative letter to the managing director of the 'Savage South Africa' show at Earl's Court in London:

> Your remarkable representation of Savage South Africa, in some of its features, I can heartily recommend to old and young among those of our countrymen who might wish to realise in safety and comfort what wild African life was like. Your 'Savages' are real African natives, their dresses and dances, equipments and actions are also very real, and when I heard their songs I almost fancied myself among the Mazamboni, near Lake Albert once again.[160]

Stanley was in fact a frequent visitor to African exhibitions. In September 1897, he visited a Congo exhibition at Tervuren outside Brussels, the site of Leopold II's Royal Museum of Central Africa. Travelling to Tervuren by the new electric tram, Stanley was delighted by the informative exhibits and the 'superb furniture in Congo wood, & excellent work in ivory'. Again, the simulations of 'native life' proved convincing. A reconstructed 'Bangala village', which was for a time occupied by imported Congolese natives, 'was exceedingly good. The reddish soil & water & the forest around assisted greatly to make me fancy myself for a moment in Africa'.[161] Stanley gives an even more detailed account of the Congo Free State pavilion at the Antwerp Universal Exhibition in 1885.[162]

> The flag of the Congo Free State on its tall staff waved proudly side by side with other national emblems. For a moment a glow of pride filled me. But shortly a sense of something like guilt filled me. For I saw before me a duplicate building of my chalet at Vivi, and half a dozen Congo huts, & above waved another Free State flag. I was incog. Suppose someone there recognised me, how I would blush to be caught. Hallo! Mr. Stanley

[160] *Era*, 3 June 1899, p. 19.
[161] H. M. Stanley to Dorothy Stanley, Brussels, 5 Sept. 1897. RMCA, MS 384.
[162] Catherine Hodeir, 'Decentering the Gaze at French Colonial Exhibitions' in Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 233-252 (p. 248).

> You here! & then a crowd of people, the prurient Belgian Press minutely describing me, how I looked, how my moustache had grown &c. So I reconnoitred the building with furtive glances, slyly eyed the people around & in it, and by & bye [sic] joined in with the crowd and went in.

The motivation for Stanley's fluctuation between pride and guilt here is difficult to unpack. However, it does seem to be rooted in his ambivalent embrace of the idea of the Congo Free State on one hand (the flag waving proudly) and the means by which this political goal was achieved on the other (represented by the replica of his chalet). But what *is* clear is the way in which these representations manage to evoke some of the sublimated feelings associated with Stanley's exploratory and colony-building expeditions in the Congo. Stanley even draws attention to the ways in which his self-promotion has encouraged 'prurient' obsession with his physical appearance. He attempts to escape attention through disguise and by immersing himself in the crowd but runs smack into his own reflected image.

> [As] I ascended the topmost step leading in I saw a full length picture of myself regarding me with a good natured humorous glance. And again I felt that curious feeling of guilt. But mounting courage I went in behind a portly *Flamande* & guiltily looked at trophies of the chase, of war, & peaceful barter which I myself had sent to the *Comité*. That Elephant head! Yes I remember too well the day I shot it that bleached hippo-skull why it was my boy Dualla who boiled it & made it appear so clean-white as it is now. Those long spear like oars! Just eight years ago I captured them in battle with the Basoko of the Aruwimi. That innocent looking drum was given to me by the slaves of the Lualaba, those bows and arrows. Ah many of them were taken by me during that stressful period we drove our way through the forests of Stanley falls in 1877. And thus and thus my thoughts kept time with each new object that my furtive glances espied.[163]

As at the SAE, the objects in the exhibition all carry their own narratives. Here, however, Stanley's expert knowledge allows him to distinguish affecting anecdotes and characters where the uninformed visitor had seen only barbarism. Stanley's emotions are recalled in the tumult of the exhibition crowd as the pace of his inner life is dictated by arrangement of the exhibition: 'my thoughts kept time with each new object'. Significantly, these emotive objects are zoological (a hippo and elephant skull) and ethnographic (oars, drums,

[163] HMS to Dorothy Tennant, Zurich, 6 Sept. 1885, RMCA, MS 166. The Antwerp exhibition included a demonstration of drum telegraphy by the Bangala drummer Kassuku. Peter Edgerly Firchow, *Envisioning Africa: Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness'* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), p. 170.

bows and arrows) rather than personalised 'relics'. Stanley's response alerts us to the fact that the interpretation of these objects was still very much down to the personal response of an individual observer. With sufficient background knowledge even an anonymous spear could carry affective force. In part, Stanley's guilt and shame seem to be related to this interpretive gap, his realisation that the ordinary visitor will inevitably fail to engage with these objects in a meaningful way.

4.6 Conclusion

If we acknowledge that the exploration narrative was a modern and modernising text, then the location of an African exhibition in the heart of the imperial metropolis is important. Like Roosevelt's railway through the Pleistocene, 'Africa in London' brought the dialectical pairings of primitive and modern, and nature and culture together in a way which presented the explorer as the mediator between powerful binaries. But as Dean MacCannell explains, neither the museum goer's encounter with the past nor the tourist's encounter with nature constitute a break with, or an escape from, modernity. In both the museum and the excursion '[nature] and the past are made part of the present, not in the form of our unreflected inner spirit, a mysterious soul, but rather as revealed objects, as tourist attractions.'[164] For MacCannell, tourism is a quintessentially modern phenomenon. It constitutes an assault on the past while simultaneously evoking nostalgia for the old forms of society being gradually effaced.

> Every nicely motivated effort to preserve nature, primitives and the past, and to represent them authentically contributes to an opposite tendency – the present is made more unified against the past, more in control of nature, less a product of history.[165]

The trend for African tourism in the late nineteenth century is entangled with the growing sense that the possibility of 'real' African travel will soon become impossible, that the continent cannot resist being Europeanised by an inevitable wave of technological modernity and Christian civilisation. James Buzard has suggested that the 'theme of the vanishing primitive', a popular anthropological trope, which we have also seen

[164] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976; repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 84.
[165] Ibid., p. 83.

foregrounded in Stanley's writing, is 'no less common to the development of modern tourism'.[166] Similarly, Jonah Siegal argues that objects 'tend to enter the museum when their world has been destroyed, and so they are relics and witnesses of a loss'.[167] An exhibition like the SAE exoticises the primitive, while at the same time lauding the achievements of the explorers and missionaries who have done most to obliterate that culture. Like the exploration narrative, these spectacles have a performative and perlocutionary function: they enact and enforce the imperial fantasies they represent. By naturalizing the antique and primitive nature of African culture we vindicate and enshrine the modernity and maturity of European civilization. In this sense, the spectacles of tourism and the exhibition become the activities *par excellence* of modernity.

The English traveler William Winwood Reade – a self-confessed *flâneur* of the Equatorial forests – had travelled in West Africa in the decade before Stanley's first major expeditions. Although Reade regarded Central Africa as the 'cradle of civilization', he also saw it as inherently anti-modern: 'the last refuge of romance . . . a white blot on the page of science – the terra incognita of this age of steam'.[168] Reade concludes his account of *Savage Africa* (1864), however, by predicting the modernisation of the continent, the extermination of 'the Negro' and the establishment of mass tourism in Africa.

> When the Cockneys of Timbuctoo have their tea-gardens in the Oases of the Sahara; when hotels and guide-books are established at the Sources of the Nile; when it becomes fashionable to go yachting on the lakes of the Great Plateau; when noblemen, building seats in Central Africa, will have their elephant parks and their hippopotami waters, young ladies on camp-stools under palm trees will read with tears *The Last of the Negroes* and the Niger will become as romantic a river as the Rhine.[169]

Reade's chilling vision could have been written as a literary accompaniment to the Union Castle Company's image of 'Brightest Africa'. But the fantasy of a modernised Africa, eerily depopulated of its indigenous inhabitants, did not merely signal the end of 'real travel' and the beginning of tourism; it was, in many ways, the imaginary endpoint of the exploratory project.

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[166] Buzard, *Beaten Track*,, p. 10.
[167] Siegel, pp. 4-5.
[168] W. Winwood Reade, *Savage Africa: Being the Narrative of a Tour in Equatorial, Southwestern, and Northwestern Africa* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1864), p. 384. For analyses of Reade's African writings see Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, *The Africa that Never Was* (New York: Twayne, 1970), p. 66-73 and Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 90-116.
[169] Ibid., p. 452.

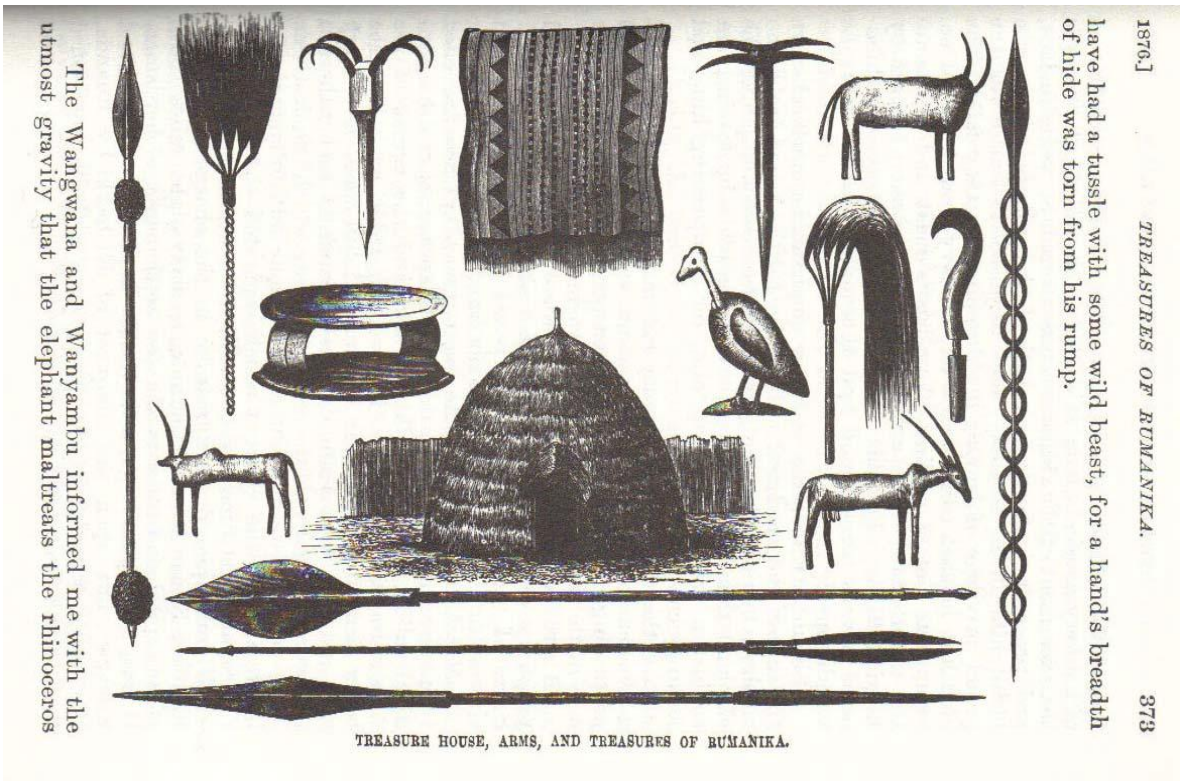

Fig. 4.1: The 'Treasures of Rumanika' from *Through the Dark Continent* (1878).

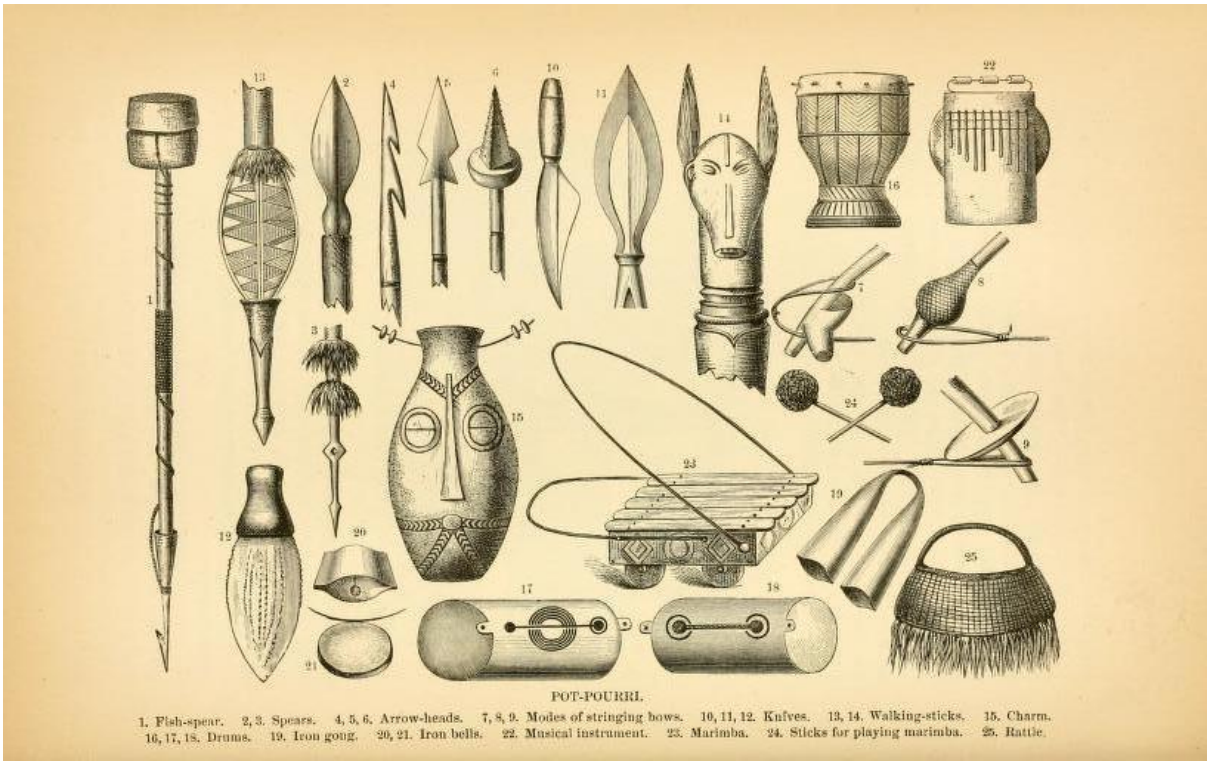

Fig. 4.2: 'Pot Pourri' from Verney Lovett Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1877), p. 248.

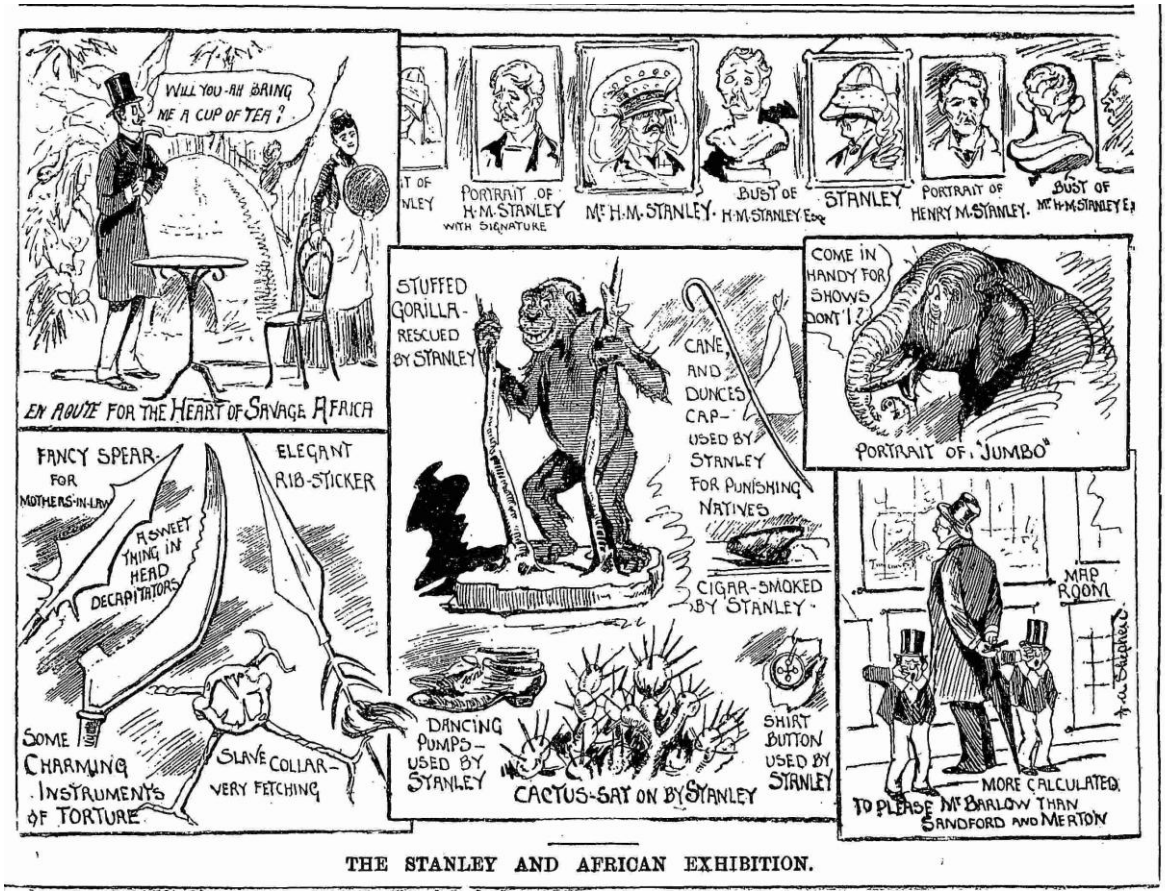

Fig 4.3: Cartoon on the Stanley and African Exhibition. *Moonshine*, 12 April 1890, p. 178.

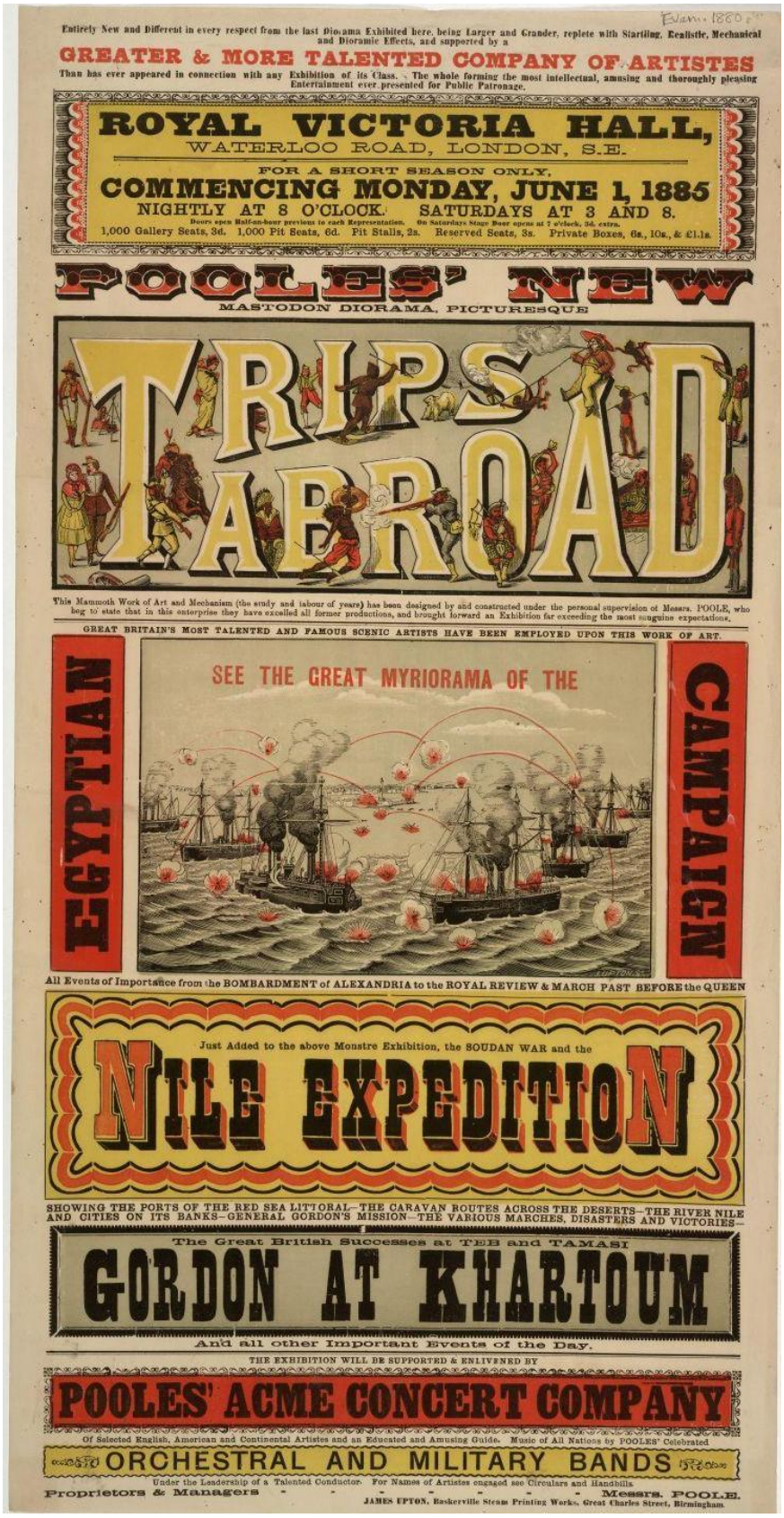

Fig. 4.4: Poster for *Poole's New Trips Abroad* at Royal Victoria Hall, Lambeth, 1885. © The British Library Board. Evan.1880.

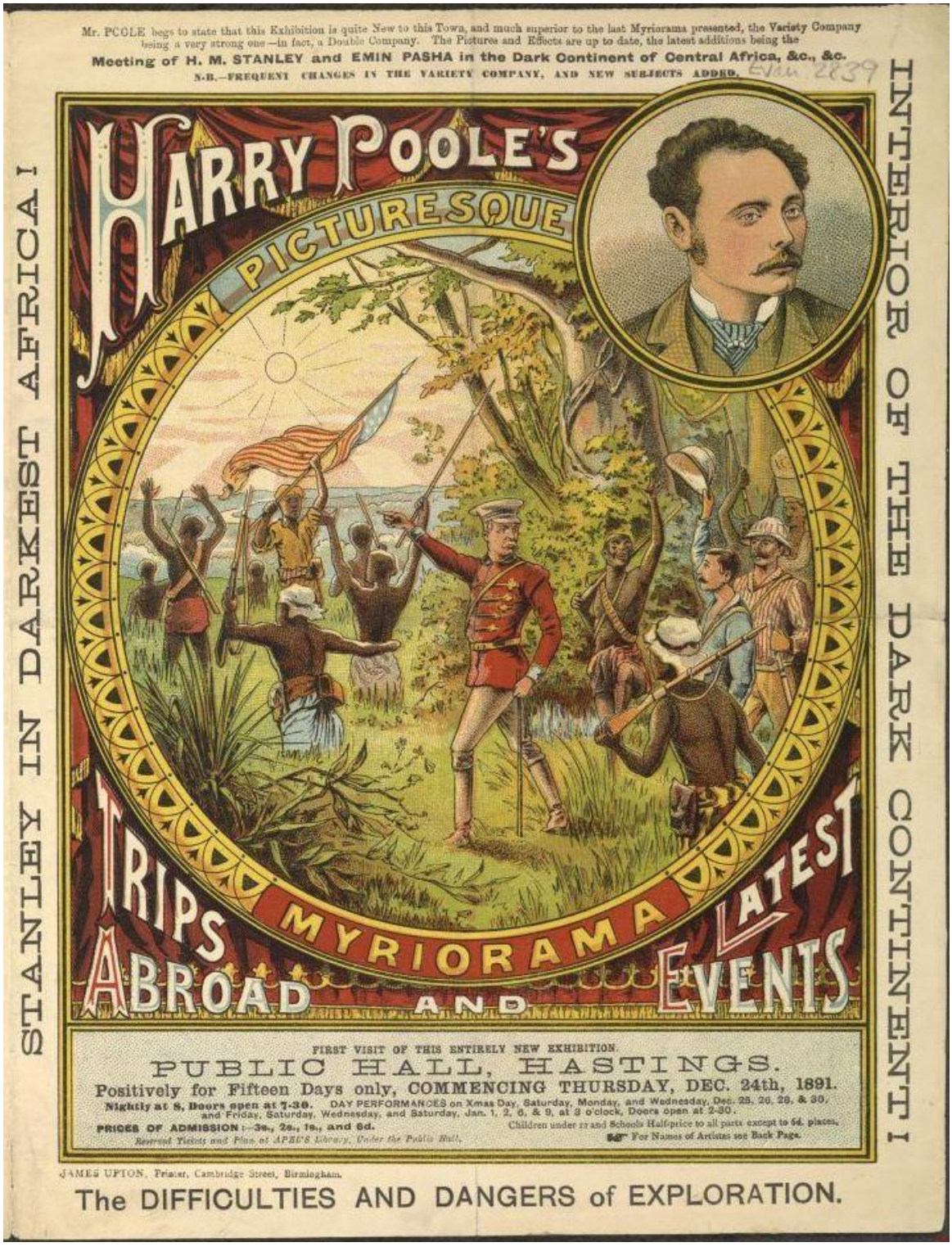

Fig. 4.5: Harry Poole's 'Picturesque Myriorama' at Hastings (1891).
© The British Library Board. Evan.2839.

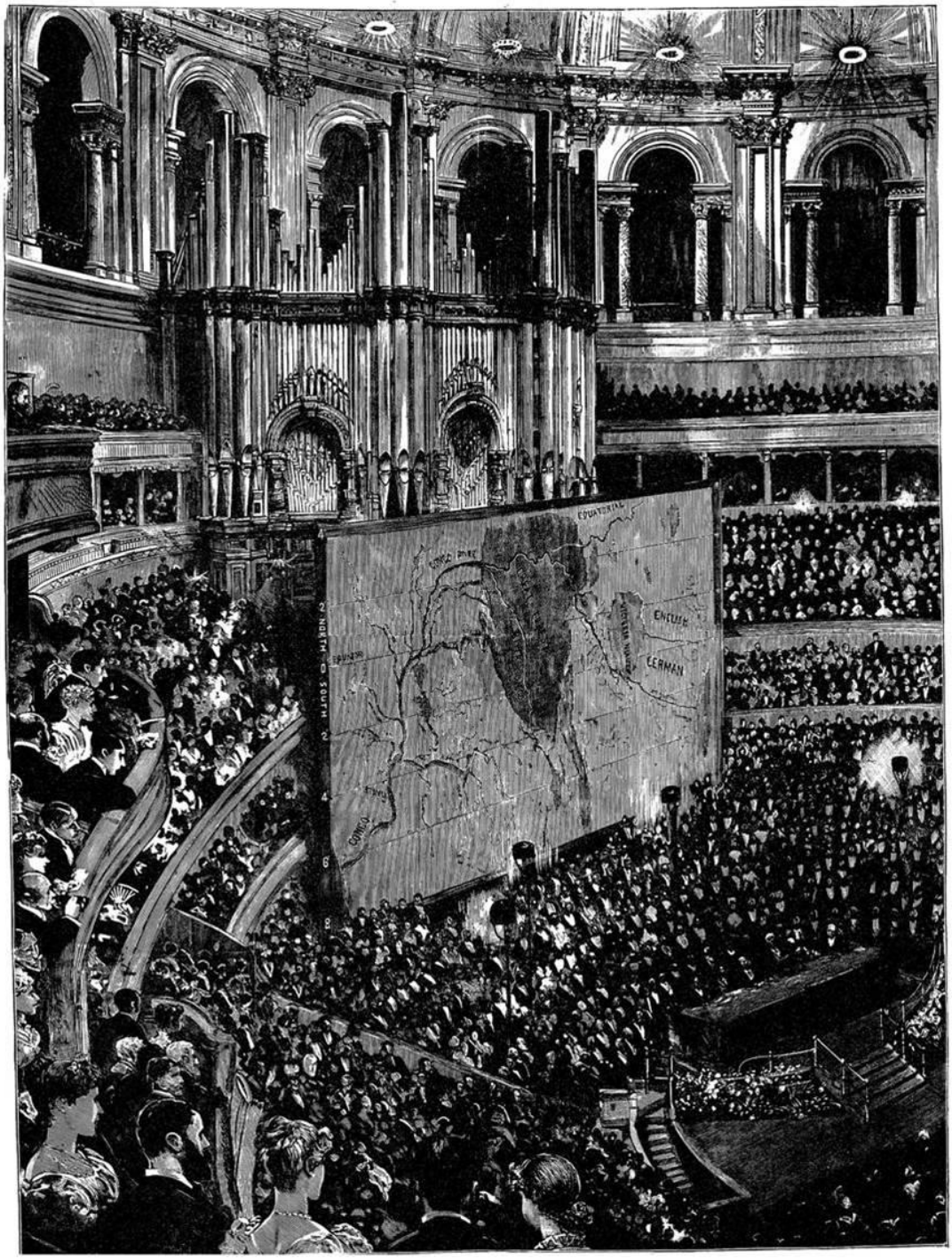

Fig. 4.6: Stanley addresses the RGS at the Royal Albert Hall. *Graphic*, 10 May 1890, p. 521.

5

'STANLEY AND HIS AFRICAN DWARFS'

EXPLORING THE PYGMY IMAGINARY

> There is probably no nation [. . .] which has not believed in the existence of men of more or less dwarfed stature and has made them play a *rôle* in its legends
>
> **Armand de Quatrefages (1887)**[1]

On the 5 May 1890, Stanley presented a report on his latest expedition to the Royal Geographical Society. The meeting had been moved from its usual venue on Savile Row to the Royal Albert Hall, in order to accommodate an audience of some 8,000 spectators (in addition to several thousand outside the auditorium). According to *The Times*, the congregation represented all 'that is distinguished in literature, art, science and travel, with a large sprinkling of social and political celebrities'. The spectators included the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Freidrich Max Müller, and Frederic Leighton. The explorer began his address to the packed auditorium with an evocative description of the flora of the Ituri rainforest in the Congo Basin.

> I have been absorbed in comparing the existence of some of these tree kings with events in human history. That splendid palm by the river side took root half a century before the great Plague of London. Yonder stately bombax springing up a head and neck above myriads was probably about the time of that memorable scene on Calvary; that wrinkled ironwood, 4ft. in diameter, was an infant under the shelter of his old sire when the Tower of Babel was building. [2]

The popular cliché of the exploratory expedition as time-travel is here taken to its logical conclusion. As we reach the most remote limits of European penetration into the 'dark continent', we are also reaching back through 'human history'. Monumental events like the Crucifixion, Babel and the Plague of London are set dramatically against the atrophied

[1] Armand De Quatrefages *The Pygmies*, translated by Frederick Starr (London: Macmillan, 1895), p. 1.
[2] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 10.

continuity of the forest. Continuing his address, Stanley deftly moves from prehistoric flora to primitive fauna.

> From the chimpanzees, baboons, and monkeys, with which the forest abounds, it is but a step, according to Darwinism, to the pygmy tribes whom we found inhabiting the tract of country between the Ihuru and the Ituri rivers. They were known to exist by the Father of poets nine centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.[3]

Stanley here describes one of several pygmy ethnic groups (including the Aka, Twa, Mbuti, and Efé) which inhabited – and still inhabit – the forests in the upper Congo Basin (in the area of eastern Congo, Cameroon, and Rwanda today).[4] The explorer clearly places the pygmies within two distinct historical narratives. First, his reference to the 'Father of Poets' alludes to a description of pygmies in Book Three of *The Iliad* – the earliest recorded reference to African 'pygmies' in European literature. Second, the pygmies are placed within the more modern evolutionary narrative of 'Darwinism'. In fact, Stanley even goes so far as to identify the pygmies as the 'missing link' between modern humanity and the anthropoid apes. As the ancient trees of the forest illustrate the vast expanse of botanical time, while also signposting events in European myth-history, so the pygmies are specimens of our evolutionary past but also relics of the mythical narratives of our ancestors

The idea that Africa was a blank canvas awaiting the inscription of a progressive narrative of colonial history was legitimised by the persistent assumption that European ignorance of the African past implied an absence of African history, rather than the failings of European historians. For Hegel, in his *Philosophy of History* (1837), Africa was 'the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night'.[5] Thus the absence of figurative light in Darkest Africa was intimately connected with the perceived absence of African history. Peter Fritzsche has argued 'history became a mass medium' in the nineteenth century as 'Europeans and European immigrants in north America become increasingly aware of and interested in history'. For

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[3] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 10.

[4] My own use of this somewhat pejorative term 'pygmy' is partly due to the fact that no other umbrella term has yet emerged to describe the various racial groups of the region. For a detailed discussion of this problematic taxonomy and the diversity of modern pygmy groups see Barry Hewlett, 'Cultural Diversity among African Pygmies' in Susan Kent (ed.), *Cultural Diversity among Twentieth-Century Foragers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 215-44.

[5] G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. by J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), p. 91. On Hegel, race and historicism see Sûrya Parekh, 'Hegel's New World: History, Freedom and Race' in *Hegel and History*, ed. by Will Dudley (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), pp. 111-134.

Fritzsche 'the social impact and trans-Atlantic scope of the historical worldview corresponds to a dramatic reorganisation of modern time and space, so that contemporaries felt themselves as *contemporaries*'.[6] As we have seen in Chapter 3, the reorganisation of space and time precipitated by new media technologies also led to the denial of Africa's contemporaneity. To transatlantic Anglo-Saxons, who obsessively defined themselves racially and culturally through shared historical narratives, the perceived absence of African history was particularly damning.[7]

European explorers and travellers frequently portrayed Central Africa as ahistorical or outside time. As Mary Louise Pratt explains, the construction of the African Other as timeless and ahistorical was intimately related to the denial of the African subject as individual: 'The people to be othered are homogenized into a collective "they," which is distilled even further into an iconic "he"'. This homogenised 'he' is then fixed 'in a timeless present where all "his" actions and reactions are repetitions of "his"' normal habits.'[8] Bill Schwarz argues that this rhetoric of temporal chauvinism implied that 'the native had had no history until the colonialists arrived' and that the native subject 'was excluded from the locations through which modern time moved, condemned to a perpetual present of dependent servitude'.[9] Here Schwarz is echoing Frantz Fanon who, in his discussion of the African 'struggle for national liberation', describes the historiographical slight of hand, whereby 'the historic development of the colonization and of the national spoliation [is] substituted for the real time of the exploited'. Fanon's colonist thus 'reaches a point of no longer being able to imagine a time occurring without him. His irruption into the history of the colonized people is deified, transformed into absolute necessity'.[10]

Although such de-historicizing manoeuvres were widespread, we should be wary of overestimating their influence. While there was undoubtedly a tendency for Euro-American authors to fall back on tired images of a historically opaque, 'timeless', or 'primordial' Dark Continent, there was also a contemporary (and not always consistent) attempt to situate Africa within the complex chronology that emerged throughout the nineteenth century. As Nigel Leask has suggested 'the associative vacuum' between European travel writers and the 'new' cultures they were representing led Europeans to 'temporalize' lands like Africa

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[6] Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 9-10.
[7] On race in Victorian historiography see Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 32-45.
[8] Mary Louise Pratt, 'Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 119-43 (p. 120).
[9] Bill Schwarz, 'Conquerors of Truth: Reflections on Postcolonial Theory' in *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity, and Cultural History*, ed. by Bill Schwarz (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 9-30 (p. 16).
[10] Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 169.

and South America 'by comparing them with more familiar classical, biblical, or medieval worlds, at the same time as they incorporated them into a 'universal' grid of geographical orientation based in Europe.'[11] In parallel with this 'associative' connection between primitive peoples and European history, there were also historical projects to integrate the 'timeless' or 'primeval' African cultures within an established (although contested) narrative of European history.

As scholars became increasingly aware of the status of Egypt as the oldest Mediterranean civilisation, historians and archaeologists pushed their investigations further up the Nile, turning the river itself into a reified metaphor for the flow of history. In this model, the Nile's sources – no longer shrouded in darkness – were reinvented as the font or womb of civilisation. As Daniel Bivona has suggested, in the late-nineteenth century the savage was simultaneously the Other and 'the mother of the civilised'.[12] While such notions accentuated the view of Africa as an essentially atrophied and primitive culture, the emphasis on Africa as a point of origin could also lead to more favourable assessments of the continent and its role in the history of civilisation. As early as 1850 John Stuart Mill, in his response to Carlyle's 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', could casually allude to the fact it was from the 'negro race' of Ancient Egypt 'that the Greeks learnt their first lessons in civilization'.[13] In the *Martyrdom of Man* (1872), the English explorer Winwood Reade maintained that 'Inner Africa [was] not cut off from the mainstream of events as writers of philosophical history have always maintained' but that it had 'powerfully influenced the moral history of Europe, and the political history of the United States' through the influence of both Islam and slavery.[14]

In his popular polemic *Black Athena* (1987), Martin Bernal forcefully asserts that late nineteenth-century British archaeologists and historians held an 'essentially racist attitude of scepticism about, and scorn for Egyptian achievements'.[15] More recently, however, David Gange has challenged this perception and argued that a renewed interest in biblical archaeology in the 1880s meant that 'the imperial agendas that would have encouraged a negative image of ancient Egypt were in fact pushed deep beneath the surface of

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[11] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 2.
[12] Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 80.
[13] J. S. Mill, 'The Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine*, 41 (1850), 25-31 (pp. 29-30). For a detailed discussion of these debates see Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 120-128.
[14] Winwood Reade, *The Martyrdom of Man* (1872; repr. London: Trübner, 1887), iii-iv.
[15] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (London: Free Association Books, 1987), vol. I, p. 249.

Egyptology'.[16] Archaeologists such as Amelia Edwards, Reginald Stuart Poole, and Flinders Petrie were eager for material evidence of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt and were mindful of the biblical tradition that Moses was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts 7:22). Following the tradition that Moses had married an Ethiopian princess (Numbers 12:1), Livingstone also sought the ruins of the ancient city of Meröe (reputedly founded by descendants of Noah's great-grandson Seba) in the area West of Tanganyika.[17] Both Stanley and Livingstone treated Book II of Herodotus' *Histories* (c. 450 BCE) as a relatively reliable guide to Sub-Saharan Africa and Livingstone's faith in the ancient Greek map of Africa had inspired his fruitless search for the source of the fountains of the Nile west of Tanganyika.[18] Stanley himself included large chunks of Herodotus' *Histories* as a helpful gloss on his own geographical and ethnographic observations (*HIFL* 375-78). Following the Greek geographers, he would later identify the Rwenzori range in Central Africa with Ptolemy's fabled Mountains of the Moon (*IDA* 2: 40-41). While the rhetorical construction of Africa as 'prehistoric' on one hand, and the parallel efforts to integrate Africa into a Eurocentric account of 'the rise of civilisation' on the other, may seem somewhat contrary, both projects insisted on distancing Africa, and the African, in time

In her study of British travel writing about Africa, Laura Franey suggests that in the late nineteenth century explorers and travellers increasingly portrayed 'a unified and undifferentiated Africa' unreflective of 'the continent's political, linguistic, ethnic, or religious make-up'.[19] I would suggest, however, that twentieth and twenty-first century critics – in pursuit of what Patrick Brantlinger calls the 'Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent' – have often systematically glossed over the distinctions Euro-American travellers made between *different kinds* of African.[20] One manifestation of this differentiating tendency is the pseudo-scientific emphasis on physiology and physiognomy of the African body, the often tedious anatomical descriptions with which almost every African travel narrative is replete. But many explorers were also quick to observe nice distinctions of culture, custom and social organisation from race to race, region to region, and even village to village. Although there has been much recent work on the role of European

[16] David Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology', *Historical Journal,* 49 (2006), 1083-1103 (p. 1085).
[17] David Livingstone, *The Last Journals* (London: John Murray, 1874), vol. I, p. 346. The identification of Meröe with the biblical city of Seba originates with the ancient Jewish historian Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, 2. 10).
[18] Tim Jeal, *Livingstone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 330-32
[19] Laura E. Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 4-5.
[20] Patrick Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 166-203; *Rule of Darkness: British literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 173-198.

ethnography in 'disciplining' the African body, there has been less attention paid to the ways in which the compulsive differentiating practices of ethnographer might have worked against the homogenising tendencies of travel writing.[21] Of course the problem here – as Pratt anticipates – is that ethnography is always a differentiating *and* a homogenising practice. The ethnographer delineates the increasingly subtle distinctions between nations, races and tribes, while simultaneously constructing homogenised and ideal racial types. However, as some excellent recent studies have shown, when we focus on specific encounters between individual travellers and specific indigenous groups (instead of abstracted 'Europeans' and 'Africans') we find that even the most virulent and committed proponents of empire often acknowledge competing historical narratives and dissenting political voices.[22]

As Claude Lévi-Strauss pithily suggests in his own travel narrative *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), explorers were often 'less concerned with discovering a new world than with verifying the past of the old' and in this chapter I am primarily concerned with the ordering of the past as a function and practice of Victorian modernity.[23] For Oscar Wilde, the desire to actively engage and reassemble the past constituted 'the true meaning of the term modernity'. 'To realize the nineteenth century,' wrote Wilde in a review of Walter Pater's essays, 'one must realize every century that has preceded it, and that has contributed to its making.'[24] As Michel Foucault as suggested, history was 'the great obsession' of the nineteenth century and Victorian forms of modernity were defined by 'themes of development and of suspension, of crisis, and cycle, themes of ever accumulating past'.[25] These often anxious attempts to catalogue the ceaselessly accumulating past are foregrounded in narratives of African travel, in which explorers attempt to place Africans within the intertwining narratives of geological deep-time, evolutionary time, and recorded history. This chapter focuses on the ways in which Stanley incorporated the pygmy

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[21] For the former see Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence* and Carol Henderson, *Scarring the Black Body: Race and Representation in African American Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).
[22] Some recent historical and literary studies which take this approach include Richard Price's study of Xhosa-British encounters in *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and Linda E. Merians, *Envisioning the Worst: Representations of 'Hottentots' in Early-Modern England* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2001). Studies which have attempted to make wider points about empire and literature via the experiences of a single European traveller include Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilised Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005) and Colin Newbury, *Patronage and Politics in the Victorian Empire: The Personal Governance of Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon* (Amherst NJ: Cambria, 2010).
[23] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. by John and Doreen Weightman (1955; repr. London: Picador, 1989), p. 88.
[24] Oscar Wilde, 'Mr. Pater's *Imaginary Portraits*' (1890) in *The Soul of the Man under Socialism and Selected Critical Prose*, ed. by Linda Dowling (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 24-29 (p. 25).
[25] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), 22-27 (p. 22).

'aristocracy' into a Eurocentric historical narrative and how this affected Britain's perception of itself as a modern imperial power. Stanley's meeting with the pygmies was represented as an encounter with antiquity but, when transmitted back to Britain, the pygmies become metaphors for dealing with various strands of modernity (political reform, industrialisation, and imperial decline). Accounts of African pygmies influenced contemporary debates within history, anthropology and evolutionary science, but also provoked late-Victorian Britons to interpret their past and conceptualise their future in new and original ways. In this respect, my reading of Stanley's encounter with the pygmies serves as a case study of what Nigel Leask calls 'the dialectical relationship between antiquity and modernity' in nineteenth-century travel writing.[26]

5.1 The Oldest Aristocracy in the World

Stanley's final African expedition (1887-1890) was a direct response to a major political crisis in British colonial Africa. Egyptian and British forces had abandoned the Sudan in early 1885, following the fall of Khartoum and the death of Governor-General Gordon at the hands of the Mahdist rebels – a coalition of Sudanese and Arab forces led by the messianic Muslim cleric, Muhammad Ahmad (the *Mahdi*). Meanwhile, ignorant of the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon, Emin Pasha (the governor of the southernmost province of the Sudan) was stranded with his garrison on the shores of Lake Albert deep in the tropical interior. Late in 1886 a stream of letters began appearing in *The Times* appealing to the British Government to intervene and rescue the hero the correspondents emotively described as a 'second Gordon' (*IDA* 2: 229).[27] The fact that Garnet Wolseley's mission to relieve Gordon had arrived too late was exploited by Emin's supporters, including the explorers Robert Felkin and Wilhelm Junker. They appealed to the sentimental patriotism of the British public by presenting the Pasha as a 'second Gordon', another potential martyr to the imperial cause. On 15 December the details of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition were announced: it was to be jointly funded by the Government of Egypt and a group of private individuals – most notably the Scottish shipping magnate and founder of the British East Africa company William Mackinnon. The expedition was to be led by Henry Morton Stanley; 'the Stanley', confirmed *The Times*, 'who found Livingstone and

[26] Leask, p. 2.
[27] Charles H. Allen, 'News From Emin Bey In Central Africa', *The Times*, 29 Oct.1886, p. 6; 'News From Emin Bey', *The Times*. 6 Nov. 1886, p. 6; R. W. Felkin, 'The Relief of Emin Bey', *The Times*. 9 Dec. 1886, p. 7.

crossed the continent'.[28] The expedition departed for Africa in January 1887 taking a circuitous route to Emin's province: first sailing to Zanzibar and then around the continent to the mouth of the Congo before navigating upriver and proceeding 450 miles on foot through the previously unexplored Ituri rainforest. On 29 April 1888 Stanley eventually located Emin on the shores of Lake Albert and, after much debate, convinced the Governor to vacate his province and march on to the east coast and Zanzibar.[29]

Stanley later calculated that 3800 printed works had been published between 1878 and 1899 on the subject of Equatorial Africa alone (*TDC* 1: xxii). In such a crowded literary marketplace, it was necessary for explorers to distinguish their work from competitors. The most successful Victorian explorer-authors generally had some novelty to set them apart from the pack. For Paul Du Chaillu in 1861 it was the gorilla; For Speke and Burton in 1864 it was the 'Source of the Nile' debate; For Stanley in 1872 it had been the search for Livingstone. Initially, the EPRE was pitched as a sequel to Stanley's previous 'search and rescue' triumph. However, the rescue narrative did not go to plan. Prior to the expedition, the newspapers, Stanley recalls, 'inspired by travellers who were supposed to know [Emin], described a hero [. . .] a tall, military-looking figure.' However, the Emin who walked off a steamer to greet the bedraggled members of the relief expedition on the shores of Lake Albert in April 1888 was, according to Stanley, neither 'a tall military figure, nor[…]by any means a Gordon' (*IDA* 2: 209-10). Emin was the adopted name of Eduard Schnitzer, a German-Jewish doctor born in Silesia. He had entered Ottoman service in 1865 and converted to Islam ('Pasha' was an honorific title, the Ottoman equivalent of the British 'Lord'). The public enthusiasm with which Stanley was met on his return was all the more remarkable for the fact that his ostensible mission to 'rescue' Emin had been somewhat farcical. Neither Stanley nor Emin were particularly fond of each other and the 'rescue and relief' of the governor ultimately descended into farce. Emin fell over a balcony and fractured his skull at a celebratory banquet in Bagamoyo in December 1889 and Stanley was forced to return to Britain without his prize. To make matters worse, on his recovery Emin signed up with the German colonial service and was already making his way back to his province, with the intention of furthering German interests in the region by the time Stanley returned to Britain in April 1890. Emin's career was cut short when he was

[28] *The Times*, 15 Dec. 1886, p. 6

[29] For a detailed historical account of the expedition and an informed discussion of its aims and achievements see Iain R. Smith, *The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1886-1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

killed in a quarrel with Arab merchants at Kinene in the Congo Free State in October 1892 (*IDA* 416-28).[30]

The expedition was also plagued by accusations that Stanley and his officers had resorted to excessive brutality, bloodshed, and plunder during the expedition. Many held Stanley directly responsible for the death and starvation of members of a rear column which he had left camped at Yambuya on the Aruwimi river, while his advance column powered on through the forest to Lake Albert. When Stanley returned to Yambuya he found the column decreased in strength by 139 members owing to a combination of mismanagement, food shortage and the brutality of the officers. The dead included two of these officers, James S. Jameson and Edmund Barttelot, the latter apparently shot by one of the native Manyema (Maniema) carriers. The controversy reached its peak in December 1890 when the Aborigines Protection Society, the organisation that had championed the civilising missions of Livingstone and other explorers, passed a resolution to condemn the 'atrocities' perpetrated by Stanley's 'filibustering and quixotic' expedition.[31]

Compared with Stanley's previous exploits, the expedition had contributed little in the way of new geographical data. However, mindful of controversy, Stanley was now eager to emphasise the passage through the previously unexplored Ituri rainforest as the expedition's primary contribution to knowledge. Although both Stanley and the British press would later endorse the idea that he was the first explorer to confirm the existence of African pygmies, this was not really the case. In June 1865 the American explorer and famed Gorilla hunter Paul Du Chaillu had described a village of 'Obongo' or 'dwarfed wild negroes' on his journey through 'Ashango-Land' on the northern banks of the Congo. Du Chaillu's encounter was relatively brief; however, he did succeed in forcibly measuring six women and was able to assemble a speculative account of the pygmies' nomadic hunter-gather lifestyle from the testimony of his Congolese guides.[32] Conscious of the interest generated by this brief account, in 1872 Du Chaillu expanded this meeting in *The Country of the Dwarfs,* a semi-fictionalised retelling of his journey aimed at a juvenile readership.[33] The Latvian-German traveller and botanist George Schweinfurth recorded and measured seven

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[30] Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (London: Faber, 2007), pp. 377-80.
[31] *The Times*, 13 Dec. 1890, p. 7. The controversies surrounding the expedition have been treated in detail by Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 117-45 and Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 113-150.
[32] Paul Du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashango-Land, and Further Penetration into Equatorial Africa* (London: John Murray, 1867), pp. 315-24.
[33] Paul Du Chaillu, *The Country of the Dwarfs* (New York: Harper, 1872), pp. 239-73. For a detailed analysis of Du Chaillu's accounts see Michael Tavel Clarke, *These Days of Large Things: the Culture of Size in America, 1865-1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), pp. 19-25.

pygmies in the valley of the Wellé (Uele) river, just north of the Ituri forest, in 1870.[34] Like Stanley, Schweinfurth saw these diminutive people (whom he called 'Akka') as the ancestors of the pygmies of Greek mythology. 'Thus, at last', he portentously records in *The Heart of Africa*, 'was I able veritably to feast my eyes upon a living embodiment of the myths of some thousand years!'.[35] In the same period, the Italian traveller Giovanni Miani – who died while exploring the area North of the Ituri in 1872 – sent two pygmies (named Tebo and Chairallah) back to his home country where they lived briefly with Count Miniscalchi of Verona, the head of the Italian Geographical Society. These pygmy youths reportedly conversed with the Count in Italian and Arabic and also learned to read, write and play the piano.[36] In 1883 the Canadian showman William Hunt (alias the 'Great Farini') exhibited a troupe of six 'Pigmy Earthmen' (probably 'Bushmen' or San of the Kalahari) to London audiences at the Royal Aquarium, Westminster.[37] Stanley himself had heard anecdotal accounts of the pygmy tribes during his Anglo-American expedition across Africa (1874-78) and he encountered at least one unusually 'diminutive' native while exploring the watershed of the Congo (*TDC* 2:79-82, 134-35). In 1887, the same year that the EPRE set out, the French naturalist, Armand de Quatrefages, published *Les Pygmées* (translated into English in 1895). This anthropological survey of the world's smallest races included a chapter on the pygmies of Central Africa, garnered from the anecdotal accounts of Schweinfurth, Stanley and other European explorers.[38]

When Stanley entered the Ituri forest in late June 1887, however, he was anything but certain what to expect: '[none] can inform me what lies ahead here, or how far the forest extends inland. Whether there are any roads, or what kind of natives, cannibals, incorrigible savages, dwarfs, gorillas. I have not the least idea' (*IDA* 1: 124). Indeed the reputation of the pygmies was far from amiable: the 'dwarfish nomads of the forest are as fierce as beasts of prey, and fight till their quivers are empty' (*IDA* 1: 270). On 16 September 1887, after a harrowing trek through the forest, the expedition arrived at the camp of the Arab/Nyamwezi merchant Ugarrowwa.

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[34] Quatrefages, p. 165; Georg Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa: Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 to 1871*, trans. by Ellen E. Frewer (New York: Harper and Sons, 1874), vol. II, p. 126.

[35] Schweinfurth, vol. II, p. 127.

[36] Quatrefages, p. 175-83; Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People* (London: Paladin, 1984), p. 22.

[37] Shane Peacock, 'Africa Meets the Great Farini' in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Showbusiness*, ed. by Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 81-106. Farini published his own travel book with Sampson Low in 1886. G. A. Farini, *Through the Kalahari Desert: A Narrative of a Journey with Gun, Camera, and Note-Book to Lake N'Gami and Back* (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1886).

[38] Quatrefages, pp. 164-87.

> At this settlement I saw the first specimen of the tribe of dwarfs who were said to be thickly scattered north of the Ituri [. . .] She measured thirty three inches in height, and was a perfectly formed young woman of about seventeen, of a glistening and smooth sleekness of body. Her figure was that of a miniature coloured lady, not wanting in a certain grace, and her face was very prepossessing [. . .] Her eyes were magnificent, but absurdly large for such a small creature almost as large as that of a young gazelle; full, protruding, and extremely lustrous. Absolutely nude, the little demoiselle was quite possessed, as though she were accustomed to be admired and really enjoyed inspection. (*IDA* 1: 208)

Stanley clearly eroticizes the work of ethnography, brooding over the glistening naked body of the coquettish subject who, we are told, 'enjoy[s] inspection.' David Spurr has commented on Stanley's preoccupation with African bodies, noting that 'the conditions which make this leisurely inspection possible are [. . .] those of forcible arrest and custody, By contrast, the freedom of the explorer's 'gaze depends on the security of the position from which it is directed'.[39] The sexual power-play between the libidinous male inspector and the passive female specimen is further emphasized by the fact the 'little demoiselle' is a slave.

Almost a year later, on 28 October 1888, Stanley was still trekking back and forth through the forest in his fraught attempts to make contact with the beleaguered 'rear column'. Famished and exhausted, Stanley sent his Zanzabari porters out to pillage what they could from native farms and watched as they 'spread over the plantations with the eagerness of famished wolves after prey'. On this occasion Stanley's men brought back an unusual prize: a 'couple of pygmies' (*IDA* 2. 40). These men and women were 'conscientiously measured' and quizzed as to the local geography of the area. But for Stanley they were not merely intriguing ethnographic or anatomical specimens; they were also the heirs to a rich historical and mythological heritage, a literary tradition stretching back to Homer, Herodotus, and the Old Testament:

> Not one London editor could guess the feelings with which I regarded this manikin from the solitudes of the vast central African forest. To me he was far more venerable than the Memnonium of Thebes. That little body of his represented the oldest types of primeval man, descended from the outcasts of the earliest ages, the Ishmaels of the primitive race, forever shunning the haunts of the workers, deprived of the joy and delight of the home hearth, eternally exiled by their vice, to live the life of human beasts in morass and fen and

[39] David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 23.

> jungle wild. Think of it! Twenty-six centuries ago his ancestors captured the five young Nassamonian explorers, and made merry with them at their villages on the banks of the Niger. Even as long ago as forty centuries they were known as pigmies, and the famous battle between them and the storks was rendered into song [. . .] When Mesu led the children of Jacob out of Goshen, they reigned over Darkest Africa undisputed lords; they are there yet, while countless dynasties of Egypt and Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome, have flourished for comparatively brief periods, and expired. (*IDA* 2: 40-41)

Mary Louise Pratt has illustrated how European travel accounts tend to separate 'Africans from Africa (and Europeans from Africans) by relegating the latter to objectified ethnographic portraits set off from the narrative of the journey'. According to Pratt, as '[visual] details are interspersed with technical and classificatory information', travellers become 'chiefly present as a kind of collective moving eye on which the sights/sites register; as agents their presence is very reduced'.[40] In a similar vein, Michael Clarke situates the pygmy encounters of Stanley and Du Chaillu within a broader narrative of post-Darwinian scientific racism. For Clarke, such accounts mark 'the beginning of the reign of science over the body, the shift from a theological regard for the deviant body to the contemporary pathological or teratological view'.[41] However, both these approaches underplay the important historical and mythic contexts, which are so central to Stanley's account of pygmies. The passage above is not really about what the ethnographic eye sees but what the individual traveller *feels*. The denial of coevalness which allows Stanley to construct the pygmy as primeval man is or course related to evolutionary models of progress but it also involves an affective engagement with ideas of history, memory and recognition. As Stanley would later argue, when the European traveller in Africa realises that he is confronting 'his own cave-dwelling ancestry', he is 'moved by an emotion as great as that which effects him when gazing on the mummy of Sesostris after it lay entombed for thirty centuries'.[42] Stanley's emphasis on feeling rather than seeing, and on imagination over observation, restores the subjective presence of the traveller and disrupts the pretence of ethnographic objectivity. While the ethnographer deals in communicable *facts*, Stanley offers untranslatable feelings in a personalized *reading* which not 'one London editor' will be able to wholly decipher.

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[40] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 59.
[41] Clarke, p. 28.
[42] H. M. Stanley, 'The Origin of the Negro Race', *North American Review*, 170 (1900), 656-665 (p. 665). According to Herodotus (*Histories*, 2. 102 ff.), Sesostris was a powerful Egyptian pharaoh who conquered much of Africa and southern Europe.

The dense historical matrix in which Stanley positions his subjects requires substantial glossing: The 'Memnonium' is the memorial temple of the pharaoh Ramses II at Thebes; The abduction of a group of Libyan explorers (the Nasamones) by a diminutive African race is described by Herodotus (*Histories*, 2. 32); The battle between the pygmies and the storks is alluded to in *The Iliad* (3. 1-10). Stanley thus immediately places the pygmies within parallel narratives of Greek and Egyptian civilisation. The Hellenic context is complemented by Hebraic analogies ('the Ismael's of the primitive race') and a biblical timeline: 'When Mesu lead the children of Jacob out of Goshen'. Stanley's slightly pompous archaism (he means 'when Moses lead the Israelites out of Egypt') is characteristic of the florid 'Telegraphese' associated with G. A. Sala and his colleagues at the *Daily Telegraph* but it also has a distinctively Carlylean ring to it. Indeed, the passage on the whole reads like a pastiche of the kind of emotive rhetoric used by Carlyle in his history of the *French Revolution* (1837), a further indication of Stanley's explicit appeal to affect over objectivity.[43]

Far from placing the ethnographic object outside history, Stanley credits these manikins of the forest with an auspicious imperial history of their own. The pygmy is a venerable ancient who predates, and has outlasted, all the great empires of antiquity. In an interview given shortly before his return to Britain in 1890, Stanley claimed that the pygmies of Ituri were 'the oldest Aristocracy in the world'.[44] Despite their auspicious history, however, the pygmies are ultimately portrayed as degenerate outcasts. Their exile from the mainstream of civilisation ('to live the life of human beasts in morass [. . .] and jungle wild') is compared to the exile of Ishmael from the house of Abraham, a story which can itself be read as an evolutionary parable (Gen. 16-21). The Angel of the Lord predicts that Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar will be 'a wild man; his hand against every man; and every man against him' and Ishmael is subsequently disinherited in favour of his half brother Isaac (Gen. 16: 12). Consequently, it is the descendents of Isaac who go on to form the twelve tribes of Israel. If we probe Stanley's analogy further we find further denigration of the pygmies. They are, like Ishmael 'eternally exiled for their vice'. Although it is unclear what this 'vice' may be, it *is* clear what the pygmies have been excluded from: 'the haunts of the workers' and the pleasures of the 'home hearth' – essentially, modern civilisation. By 'shunning' this system of values they are voluntarily turning towards the animalistic. In Stanley's mind, the pygmies opt out of civilisation and are therefore at least

[43] Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, ed. by K. J. Fielding and David Sorenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
[44] *Pall Mall Gazette,* 18 Apr. 1890, p. 4.

partially responsible for their own bestial degeneration. Stanley's eclectic pool of reference, this comingling of science, history and myth, blurs the line between history and metaphor and effectively allies the Darwinian evolution of European pedigree – refined through natural selection – with a Judeo-Christian genealogy of religion and culture inherited from Abraham. Stanley thereby rationalises the pygmies' 'exile' from the mainstream of civilisation from both a scientific and a mythoreligious perspective. This exile is paralleled by Stanley's semantic shifts within the passage from the language of myth to the vocabulary of science; a transition which, in turn, mirrors the pygmy's transformation from historical subject to ethnographic object, from undisputed lord to human beast.

Of course outspoken admiration for non-European civilisations of the past was not incompatible with the rhetoric of the civilising mission. As Edward Said has pointed out, the act of displaying one's knowledge of the past achievements of the Other is always a demonstration of power: 'Knowledge [. . .] means surveying a civilisation from its origins to its prime to its decline – and of course it means *being able to do that* [. . .] To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it.[45] As Said has noted, the praise heaped on ancient Egypt by the 'the powerful and up-to-date empires' of Europe, justified the colonial mission in bringing modern Egyptians 'out of the wretchedness of their decline and [turning] them into rehabilitated residents of productive colonies'.[46] But during his Royal Albert Hall address, Stanley imagines himself in a position of dominance which far exceeds the usual arrogance of the colonial master. Here he describes another pair of captive pygmies.

> As they stood trembling before me I named the little man Adam and the miniature woman Eve, far more appropriate names in the wild Eden on the Ituri than the Vukukuru and Akiokwa which they gave us. As I looked at them and thought how these represented the oldest people of the globe, my admiration would have gone to greater lengths than scoffing cynics would have expected. Poor Greekish heroes and Jewish patriarchs, how their glory paled before the ancient ancestry of these manikins! Had Adam known how to assume a tragic pose, how fitly he might have said, 'Yea, you may well look on us, for we are the only people living on the face of the earth who from primeval time have never been removed from their homes. Before Yusuf and Mesu were ever heard of we lived in these wild shades, from the Nile Fountains to the Sea of Darkness, and, like the giants of the forest, we despise time and fate.'[47]

[45] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 32.
[46] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 35.
[47] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 10.

Stanley's hubristic act – renaming of the pygmies as they stand 'trembling before' him – is again followed by a contradictory genuflection before the achievements of the 'oldest people of the globe'. Hellenic and Hebraic civilisation are found unworthy by comparison with the achievements of pygmy prehistory and rather than characterise the pygmies as potential colonial subjects, Stanley emphasises their autonomy and resistance to external intervention. They are 'the only people on the face of the earth who [. . .] have never been removed from their homes'. Again, Stanley represents their antiquity and otherness through archaic or foreign-sounding language – the Shakespearian 'Greekish', the Arab-sounding Yusuf and Mesu.[48] By directing his melodramatic apostrophe against 'scoffing cynics', Stanley positions himself as the advocate for the achievements of pygmy civilisation against the perceived pretensions of smug Europeans. However, by naming the pygmies Adam and Eve, Stanley elevates his own position to that of the Creator and makes a mockery of any attempt at cultural humility. In a rhetorical manoeuvre which recurs throughout his account, Stanley subsumes the first-hand cultural testimony of the pygmies themselves (the names Vukukuru and Akiokwa) under a wave of mythoreligious metaphor (Adam and Eve), a technique most dramatically realized in the imagined soliloquy of the 'pygmy Adam'. As Said anticipates, Stanley can only *imagine* what the pygmy *would* say because the modern degenerate descendant of the once great race is incapable of verbalising his auspicious history without the aid of the white man's eloquence, which – in Stanley's hubristic conceit – is equated with the word of God.

As Stanley makes clear, the individual pygmies he encounters know nothing of their glorious history: 'They did not know they were heirs of such proud and unequalled heritage. On the contrary, their faces said clearly enough, as they furtively looked at one and the other of us, 'Where have these big people come from? Will they eat us?'[49] Rather than recount the proud history of their race, the pygmies simply admit their inferiority and fear in face of the overwhelming power of the white man. Stanley's depiction of the pygmy – as a mute tragic hero on the stage of imperial history – demonstrates that 'colonial discourse' operated by forcefully integrating as well as deliberately excluding non-white races from the foundation narratives of Western civilisation.

[48] Yusuf is simply the Arabic version of Joseph. According to a contributor to *Notes and Queries* the 'name Moses expressed in hieroglyphical writing would be *Mes* or *Mesu*'. J. B. M., 'Egyptian Papyri: Moses', *Notes and Queries*, fourth series, 2 (1868), 616.
[49] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 10.

5.2 Two Types

In April 1888, Stanley recorded yet another 'splendid capture of pigmies' consisting of four women and a boy. In this group he saw two distinct 'racial types': the first type had a lot in common with the demure damsels described above, pretty and proportioned, 'her complexion was bright and healthy; her eyes were brilliant, round, and large [. . .] The colour of the lips was pinkish'; the second type was represented by a 'monkey-eyed woman [. . .] fitly characteristic of the link long sought between the average modern humanity and its Darwinian progenitors, and certainly deserving of being classed as an extremely low, degraded, almost a bestial type of a human being' (*IDA* 1: 353).

While obviously functioning to emphasise the physical and cultural superiority of the white explorer, the animalising of the pygmies also helps Stanley (who lists pygmies among the spoils captured during hunting expeditions) justify his frequent recourse to kidnapping, theft and coercion (*IDA* 2: 62). The desire to read the pygmies as semi-human also stems directly from one of the more progressive epistemological advances of the day: evolutionary anthropology's attempt to rationalise the complex and heterogeneous present by tracing the shared origins of the species to a homogenous 'primitive culture'. E. B. Tylor, the first chair of anthropology at Oxford, argued that 'savage' man was not so much an alternative to civilized man as his progenitor. In *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor applied Darwinian logic to sketch the evolution of culture, and argued 'that the savage state in some measure represents an early condition of mankind, out of which the higher culture has gradually been developed or evolved, by processes still in regular operation'.[50] Though the act of designating various African races as missing links was obviously a manifestation of racist imperial ideology, the desire to find an ape-like human, and hence to bridge the gap between nature and culture was, in many ways, an inevitable consequence of the epistemological breakthroughs of Darwin, Tylor and Huxley. Cannon Schmitt has argued that Darwin's own encounter with the 'savages' of Tierra del Fuego was 'integral to the development of evolutionary theory': the evolutionary argument 'for human descent from

[50] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (London: John Murray, 1871), vol. I, p. 28. The best historical account of the rise of evolutionary anthropology is Stocking's *Victorian Anthopology*, pp. 144-274. For a comprehensive history of some of the more idealised or romantic appropriations of 'savages' and 'primitives' see Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

other animals requires that Darwin find the Fuegians and other "savages" representatives of an otherwise empty space in the continuum of living forms, a missing link'.[51]

The confusion between pygmies, apes, and missing links was not, however, an entirely recent phenomenon. In 1698 the anatomist Edward Tyson had concluded that the pygmies described by Homer and Herodotus were really apes. Tyson's *Anatomy of a Pygmy* describes and illustrates the dissection of a specimen 'pygmy', which – as is clear from his detailed engravings – is actually a chimpanzee.[52] In Stanley's own time, T. H. Huxley and others favoured Tyson's theory and thought it unlikely that the ancient Greeks were aware of the human pygmies of Central Africa.[53] Europeans' relative ignorance of the great apes well into the late nineteenth-century meant that these animals were often anthropomorphised to an excessive level. In 1698 Tyson had sketched his chimpanzee walking with a cane, but even two-hundred years later Stanley uncritically recounts tales of chimpanzees playing drums and prowling the jungle with aid of flaming torches (*IDA* 1: 423).

In his 1906 account of the Congo pygmies, the Viscount Mountmorres upholds Stanley's distinction between the two distinct 'types'. Of the 'debased' type, he remarks that 'but for their use of the bow and arrow, [they] would have seemed more nearly allied to the apes than to the human race'. Mountmorres also vaguely cites a tradition 'among many of the native peoples' by which both the pygmies and the anthropoid apes are referred to as 'our brothers who live in the trees'.[54] Indeed, as Tamara Giles-Vernick and Stephanie Rupp have shown, the blurring of the simian/human divide is as much a preoccupation of Central African oral literature as European anthropology.[55] Stanley would himself later recount two such stories – concerning confusion between men and gorillas – in his own collection of African folktales *My Dark Companions and their Strange Stories* (1893).[56] As Donna Haraway has pointed out, 'Monkeys and apes have a privileged relation to nature and culture for western people: simians occupy the border zones between those potent

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[51] Cannon Schmitt, *Darwin and the Memory of the Human: Evolution, Savages and South America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 28.
[52] Edward Tyson, *The Anatomy of a Pygmy Compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape and a Man* (1698; repr. London: T. Osborne, 1751).
[53] T. H. Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (New York: D. Appleton, 1863), p. 19.
[54] [Geoffrey] Mountmorres, *The Congo Independent State: A Report on a Voyage of Inquiry* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906), pp. 39-40. On Mountmorres's role as a 'travelling apologist' for the Congo Free State regime see Robert Burroughs, 'The Travelling Apologist: May French Sheldon in the Congo Free State (1903-04)', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 14 (2010), 135-157 (pp. 140-148).
[55] Tamara Giles-Vernick and Stephanie Rupp, 'Visions of Apes, Reflections on Change: Telling Tales of Great Apes in Equatorial Africa', *African Studies Review* 49 (2006), 51-73.
[56] 'The Boy Kinneneh and the Gorilla' is credited to 'Kadu', a page of Mutesa I. 'The Hospitable Gorilla' is credited to 'Baruti' from Basoko on the Congo. Stanley, *My Dark Companions and their Strange Stories* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1893), pp. 279-296, 326-335.

mythic poles.[57] Thus, when anthropologists sought to designate a race as authentically 'primitive' (i.e. at the meeting point of nature and culture) a comparison with the lower apes was never far away.

In a later article for the American *Scribner's Magazine*, however, Stanley recants his initial evaluation of the pygmies as the Missing Link.

> One of the most frequent questions put to me since my return from Africa is: 'Is the pigmy a real human being?' Another is: 'Is the pigmy capable of reasoning?' And another is: 'Do you think he can argue rationally about what he sees; or, in other words, has he any mind at all?' And whenever I hear such questions I mentally say: 'Truly, I see no difference between the civilized man and the pigmy! For if the latter could but speak his thoughts in a dialect familiar to me, there is not the slightest doubt that he would have asked me, "Can the civilized man reason like us men of the forest?"'[58]

Whether this change of heart is Stanley's attempt to avoid raising the more politically contentious issue of race with his American readership or whether he is simply responding to one of his many critics, we cannot say. Stanley tops off his retraction by dramatically renouncing the implications of evolutionary theory, advising his readers to 'relieve their minds of the Darwinian theory, avoid coupling man with the ape, and banish all thoughts of the fictitious small-brained progenitor supposed to be existing somewhere on land unsubmerged since the eocene period'.[59] A striking example of why Stanley might have been hesitant to endorse the idea of the pygmy as missing link in an American publication can be seen in an 1896 article by an American doctor James Weir on 'The Pygmy in the United States'. With a startling disregard for the complex racial history of the American South and the social effects of slavery, poverty and malnutrition, Weir positively identifies 'our American pygmies' as a 'negrito' type dwelling in the swamps of Louisiana and Florida; a race, he claims, 'closely akin [. . .] and springing from the same root stock' as Du Chaillu and Stanley's 'African dwarfs'. However, Weir's portrait of the semi-savage American pygmy, testifies more to the author's literary influences than his questionable skills as an ethnographer. Weir's 'black manikins', like those of the Ituri, also 'shun the haunts of men,

[57] Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 1.
[58] H. M. Stanley, 'The Pigmies of the Central African Forest', *Scribner's Magazine*, 9 (1891), 3-17 (p. 3).
[59] Ibid., p. 3.

and when discussing them one quotes almost involuntarily the thoughts of Stanley when he first saw the pygmy of Avatiko'.[60]

Michael Clarke cites the *Scribner's* article as proof that 'Stanley was a vigorous anti-Darwinist who denied that a missing link existed'.[61] However, considering Stanley's frequent resort to evolutionary tropes in his writing and his correspondence with T.H. Huxley and other prominent evolutionists this is certainly too extreme (*TDC* 2: 113). Like many late-Victorian Christians, Stanley was equivocal in his embrace of evolutionary science and wavered in his commitment to Darwinian orthodoxy. In a late article on 'The Origin of the Negro Race' (1900), Stanley cites Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871) and suggests that no European traveller 'with an open mind' could possibly doubt the latter's monogenic thesis that the operation of natural selection over a vast expanse of time is sufficient to account for the racial variety of the single human species.[62] In this sense, the *Scribner's* article is more accurately read as a denunciation of the essentialist scientific racism endorsed by groups such as James Hunt's Anthropological Society rather than a direct refutation of Darwinian Theory.[63] But while he rejects a biologically deterministic view of the pygmy's supposed inferiority, he nonetheless reserves the caveat that the pygmies are socially and culturally atrophied, asserting that their way of life has seen 'no change, or progress of any kind [. . .] since the time of Herodotus'.[64]

The paradoxical image of the pygmies – as both elvish miniatures and grotesque monsters – is captured in two contemporary illustrations. The artist for *Scribner's Magazine* (Charles Broughton) shows a demonic looking pygmy horde advancing threateningly towards the reader (Fig. 5.1).[65] Broughton's 'pigmies' are bestial in the extreme. They seem to be primarily arboreal creatures. Those on the ground look awkward and slouched, while one figure appears to have rejected bipedalism altogether and lopes toward the foreground on all fours. In short, the evolutionary comparison between the pygmies and the lower primates is unavoidable. By contrast a contemporary illustration in the *Graphic* (by Godefroy Durand) depicts the pygmies in an Edenic setting, peacefully and playfully interacting with members of the expedition (Fig. 5.2).[66] Durand's 'forest dwarfs' are far more appealing: their lithe limbs are perfectly in proportion; the figures of both sexes have

[60] Ibid., pp. 55-56.
[61] Clarke, p. 26-27.
[62] Stanley, 'Origin of the Negro', p. 665.
[63] Stanley took a similar line during a lecture in New York in 1872, when he refuted the racial essentialism of the explorer Samuel Baker and reportedly declared Darwin 'insane'. *New York Times*, 4 Dec. 1872, p. 5.
[64] Stanley, 'The Pigmies', p. 4.
[65] Ibid., p. 12.
[66] *Graphic*, 30 Apr. 1890, p. 10.

an androgynous delicacy of feature. The voyeuristic element is emphasised by the figure of the linen-clad explorer, who, sharing our gaze, calmly surveys the idyllic scene. This is an altogether more tranquil composition, with the members of the expedition shown peacefully observing pygmy customs in the manner of culturally sensitive ethnographers.[67] In reality, however, there was no such peaceful encounter. The expedition merely captured, detained, and examined pygmies and in his account, Stanley openly admits the coercive means by which the 'curious representatives of the *hominess sylvestres* of Africa were brought to me for examination'. During the course of his travels back and forth through the Ituri forest, he records the capture of approximately fifty pygmies 'of various ages and of both sexes'.[68]

In her work on metaphor and the miniaturised body, Susan Stewart has identified a dichotomy which closely coincides with Stanley's 'two types': the dwarf is 'assigned to the domain of the grotesque and the underworld', while the midget (miniaturised yet in perfect proportion) is placed within 'the world of fairy – a world of the natural [. . .] in its attention to the perfection of detail'.[69] Similarly, in Stanley's account the more favoured of the two pygmy types is characterised as a 'perfectly formed' scale miniature of human or mythic archetypes – Stanley's refers to a 'miniature Hebé', 'a miniature Eve', and a 'Pigmy Adam' (*IDA* 1: 208). On the other hand, the pygmies of the second order are monstrous, grotesque and simian. We can also read Stanley's division of the pygmies into two distinct races as a manifestation of his discursive ambivalence, his juggling of the mythoreligious and the evolutionary. Both of these rhetorical techniques construct the pygmy as the origin of the species, but while the mythic interpretation associated the pygmies with such dignitaries as Hebé, Adam, and Eve, in the Darwinian model the pygmy is reduced to 'a bestial type'. Of course the epistemological contexts which inform Stanley's two types were not as discrete as they may appear today. In the late-nineteenth century, myth, folklore, and the study of 'primitive' culture in general were absorbed into evolutionary discourse, as anthropologists and ethnographers sought a new scientific methodology for the study of

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[67] It is unlikely that either of these images were based on Stanley's photographs or sketches. As Leila Koivunen has noted, even some of the illustrations of pygmies in *IDA* are re-workings of earlier engravings from Schweinfurth's *The Heart of Africa* (1873). Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 147-149. *IDA* also includes several pygmy illustrations which can been traced back to photographs taken during the expedition. For a detailed discussion of these images see Mathilde Leduc-Grimaldi, 'De l'atlas au roman: L'*Album bleu* de Henry M. Stanley', *Études Photographiques*, 14 (2004), pp. 86-103.

[68] Stanley, 'The Pigmies', pp. 5-6. *Homo Sylvestres* ('wild man') was Edward Tyson's Latin designation for his anatomised 'pygmie'.

[69] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 111.

culture. Tylor and his followers studied the practice of folklore, myth and magic, as a way of deriving empirical insights into the roots of modern cultural, religious, and social practices.

5.3 Fables of the Dwarf Age

Although the scientific traveller was supposed to dispel romantic myths, the Congo with its fearsome gorillas and impish 'dwarfs', seemed to affirm rather than refute the fabulist designation 'here be monsters'. The geographer J.S. Keltie, in an otherwise laudatory notice in the *Fortnightly Review*, suggested that Stanley had lost 'himself in fancy' in his account of the 'antiquity and origin' of the pygmies.[70] The *Graphic*, however, cast Stanley as *vindicator* of myths: 'The stories of the ancient geographers, which were regarded as old wives' fables, are now proved to be true; there is a nation of dwarfs'.[71] *The Times* agreed, asserting that Stanley had 'restored life, truth, and actuality to legends [. . .] which have come down to us from almost prehistoric times'. The *Pall Mall Gazette* described the Ituri as a 'fairy-tale forest' inhabited by 'legendary-sounding gnomes and monsters'.[72]

In Guy Burrows's 1898 study *The Land of the Pigmies* (which includes a preface by Stanley) the mythic quality of the pygmies again intrudes upon an ostensibly ethnographic text, as the author attempts to synthesize the two conflicting identities we have already observed: the fairytale sprite and the bestial 'missing link'.

> Relics and stories of these manikins are to be found in all countries: witness the Dwarfs of the German mountains, the Scandinavian Trolls, and the Irish Leprechauns. True, these small folk are now legendary and belong to the enchanted realm of Fairyland; but I have no doubt that at one time they flourished on the face of the earth in the flesh, being ultimately killed off to allow survival of the fittest; consequently it was of the highest interest to find some of them in their primitive and aboriginal state.[73]

Trolls, leprechauns, and pygmies, all out of place in the modern world, the stuff of fairytale, but also, it would appear, the stuff of our evolutionary history: the troll, the leprechaun, and the pygmy as missing link. In 1894 the German anatomist Julius Kollmann addressed

[70] J. Scott Keltie, 'Mr. Stanley's Expedition: Its Conduct and Results', *Fortnightly Review*, 48 (1890), 66-81 (p. 81).
[71] *Graphic*, 10 May 1890, p. 523.
[72] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 9; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 May 1890, p. 4.
[73] Guy Burrows, *The Land of the Pigmies* (London: C. A. Pearson, 1898), pp. 173-74.

the anthropological section of the British Association on a Swiss fossil-find, which, he claimed, provided 'undoubted evidence of what we might call a dwarf age, synchronising with what is called generally the later stone period'. Kollmann went on to argue that throughout the world 'the dwarf people were the precursors of the larger races'. The *Belfast News-Letter* cited this paper (alongside Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*) as 'another illustration of the remarkable way in which scientific research re-establishes the traditions and 'fables' of our forefathers'.[74]

Theories of a European 'dwarf age' were not entirely new in the 1890s. The Scottish folklorist, J.F. Campell had, in 1862, referred to 'a small race of people in these islands, who are remembered as fairies'. These men 'were smaller in stature than the Celts [. . .] used stone arrows, lived in conical mounds like the Lapps, knew some mechanical arts, pilfered goods and stole children'.[75] Campbell himself was drawing on the theories of the novelist Walter Scott, who in 1830 had hypothesised that the dwarfs of Scottish folktales 'were originally nothing else than the diminutive natives of the Lappish, Lettish and Finnish nations'.[76] These theories re-emerged just as Stanley was regaling Europe and America with tales of his 'African dwarfs'. In 1890, the Scottish Archaeologist David MacRitchie set archaeological evidence ('beehive' huts and Celtic passage tombs) alongside the testimony of Highland tradition in order to prove that the ancient Picts were a race of dwarfish troglodytes.[77] In a later paper, given before the International Folklore Congress of 1891, MacRitchie, expanded his thesis and – following Campbell's suggestion – surmised that the 'fairies' of Scottish and Irish myth reflected the existence of a historically extant Lappish race 'and that not unlikely they were the people historically known as Picts'.[78] Although MacRitchie does not discuss African pygmies in detail, he does make several allusions to contemporary discoveries in Africa. The epigraph to his monograph, taken from Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* (1883), refers to the extermination of South African 'bushmen' by Boer settlers. He also refers explicitly to the pygmies of Greek mythology, suggesting that 'these little men [. . .] were of course the ancestors of Schweinfurth's and Stanley's dwarfs'.[79]

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[74] *Belfast News-Letter*, 22 Aug. 1894, p. 7.
[75] J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands Orally Collected*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1860-62), vol. I, c; vol. IV, p. 344.
[76] Water Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft: Addressed to J.G. Lockhart, Esq.* (London: John Murray, 1830), p. 120-21.
[77] David MacRitchie, *The Testimony of Tradition* (London: Keegan Paul, 1890), p. 64.
[78] David MacRitchie, *Fians, Fairies and Picts* (London: Kegan Paul, 1893), viii.
[79] MacRitchie, *Fians, Fairies and Picts*, pp. iii, 25. Richard M. Dorson (ed.), *History of British Folklore* (London: Rourledge, 2001), Vol. III, part II, p. 549.

In accord with contemporary theories, Robert Louis Stevenson's poem 'Heather Ale: A Galloway Legend' (1890) dramatises an interview between a despotic Scottish King and the 'Last of the dwarfish folk', a lone troglodytic survivor of the exterminated Picts. A footnote in Stevenson's poem (which was printed in America by Stanley's publisher Scribner's) directs the reader to Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, and asserts that the legend 'was true or partly true of some anterior and perhaps Lappish savages, small of stature, black of hue, dwelling underground'.[80] Stevenson's collection of *Ballads*, which juxtaposed the poet's interpretations of traditional Highland legends alongside Samoan folk tales, deliberately invited comparison between the foreign and domestic versions of 'primitive culture'. Indeed, almost all accounts of the supposedly dwarfish Picts had colonial or imperial subtexts. MacRitchie's Highland pygmies were a race of 'tyrannical dwarfs' who 'in spite of their mean stature a terror to the taller people, whom they oppressed and took tribute from'.[81] Scott's dwarfs were, on the other hand, colonial victims 'who sought caverns and hiding-places from the persecution of the [invaders]' and 'in some respects compensated for inferiority in strength and stature, by the art and power with which the superstition of the enemy invested them'.[82] In both Scott and Stevenson's versions, the legend of the Scottish dwarfs is an explicit narrative of colonial invasion and native resistance. Furthermore, the tactics of stealth and cunning – and the supposition of supernatural powers among their enemies – corresponds closely to Stanley and Schweinfurth's description of the Congo pygmies. In 1906 the English explorer Harry Johnston stood up for a literalized reading of the pygmy myth in similar terms. Struck by the 'singular resemblance' of the Central Africa pygmies 'to the elves and gnomes and sprites of our nursery stories', Johnston concluded that 'most fairy myths arose from the contemplation of the mysterious habits of dwarf troglodyte races lingering on still in the crannies, caverns, forests, and mountains of Europe after the invasion of neolithic man'.[83] In these mythohistorical reflections, the colonial conquest of Africa is refracted through a long cyclical history of invasion and genocide.

African pygmies were historicised through an array of methodological and disciplinary perspectives and thus became props for thinking through competing notions of time and history. If the 'monkey-eyed woman' represents a dead end of human evolution,

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[80] Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Heather Ale: A Galloway Legend', *The Collected Poems of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. by Roger C. Lewis (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), pp. 159-61, 167. Originally published in *Ballads* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1890; New York: Scribner, 1890).
[81] MacRitchie, *Testimony of Tradition*, p. 56-57.
[82] Scott, *Demonology*, p. 121
[83] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1906), vol. II, pp. 516-17.

the fairytale sprite is the relic of vanishing folk culture. As with Stanley's tragic 'Adam', the pygmy's story is a Gibbonian epic of decline and fall. In a period in which the influences of German higher criticism, Comtean Positivism, and evolutionary theory opened the door to scientific interpretation of religion, myth, folklore, and language, Stanley's 'two types' provided a potent symbol for the bifurcated historical subject determined by both nature and culture.

5.4 Uncanny Dwarfs

Their quasi-legendary status in the Western tradition, along with their perceived atavism, allows the pygmies to be associated with the archaic realm of myth and fable. But in Stanley's account, the pygmies are interchangeably ancient and childlike. Although they are frequently condemned to the lower rungs of the evolutionary ladder, they are presented as an early stage of human development and thus the youth of the species. As Clarke suggests, this was an exaggeration of an already existing aspect of Euro-American attitudes to Africans: 'Americans and Europeans regarded all blacks as childlike and in need of paternal (or imperial) guidance, the shortness of pygmies suggested that they were the most childlike of all'. [84] Of course, analogies between savages and children have often been central to the Western intellectual tradition. Following Tylor and his disciples, Sigmund Freud would later argue in *Totem and Taboo* (1913) that the mental life of the savage [*der Wilden*] 'must have a peculiar interest for us if we are right in seeing in it a well-preserved picture of an early stage of our own development'.[85]

As Tim Youngs has pointed out, psychoanalytic readings of colonial texts often fail 'to take sufficient account of the roots of psychoanalytic theory in late nineteenth-century European culture'.[86] Freud's comparative study of the 'savage' and the neurotic is an obvious case in point. However, it may be more than a shared cultural poetics which connect Freud and Stanley's conception of the primitive. In August 1878, shortly after Stanley had returned from his first complete trek across Africa, Freud wrote to his friend Eduard Silberstein in a jocular mood. He had spent the last few weeks reading tales of African exploration by 'Baker, Schweinfurth, and Stanley'. 'It is all very charming', he

[84] Clarke, p. 24.
[85] Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, ed. and trans. by James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 1.
[86] Youngs, *Travellers in Africa*, p. 4.

confessed 'but a little like those fairy tales in which the prince, with one stroke of his sword, slays one horrible dragon and invincible sorcerer after another'.[87] It is significant that Freud reads Stanley as a fairytale, a genre which would prove particularly fertile ground for his later analyses, most significantly his theory of the Uncanny (*das Unheimliche*), which drew on E. T. A. Hoffmann's tale of 'The Sandman'.[88] The objects we regard as uncanny are, according to Freud, initially perceived as odd, unsettling or exotic, much like Stanley's spritely 'manikins'. Yet in reality the uncanny object is a once-familiar, though now suppressed, trace of an 'animistic' phase through which we have all passed in our childhood. Thus 'an uncanny experience occurs either when infantile complexes which have been repressed are once more revived by some impression, or when primitive beliefs which have been surmounted seem once more to be confirmed'.[89] Consequently, to come face to face with the childish/primitive is an uncanny experience, defying description.

Described as 'uncanny dwarfs' by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stanley's pygmies are at first introduced as an almost supernatural oddity, though they ultimately come to signify the two phases of existence from which the adult individual and the Anglo-Saxon race have emerged: childhood and savagery.[90] For Freud, these two phases are virtually indistinguishable: 'When we consider that primitive beliefs are most intimately connected with infantile complexes, and are, in fact, based on them, we shall not be greatly astonished to find that the distinction is often a hazy one'.[91] As Clarke notes, this analogy was supported by the fact that 'childhood, like the pygmy race, is a vanishing state: just as the pygmies were destined for extinction, childhood is a fleeting and temporary state of being'.[92] If Freud's Uncanny is 'something which ought to have remained hidden but has come to light' then we can read the anticipated extinction of the pygmies, as a colonial equivalent to Freud's repression of the animistic mind.[93] Stanley was in little doubt that the pygmy's decline was inevitable in the face of modernity, despite his praise of the great pygmy civilisations of the past. In Stanley's opinion it was the modern technologies of transport and communication that had finally ended the long seclusion of the pygmies: 'They might have remained buried in this gloomy region as many centuries yet, had not the

[87] Walter Boehlich (ed.), *The Letters of Sigmund Freud to Eduard Silberstein, 1871-1881*, trans. by Arnold J. Pomerans (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1990), p. 168.
[88] Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, translated and ed. by James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1975), vol. 17, pp. 227-33.
[89] Ibid., p. 249.
[90] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 May 1890, p. 4.
[91] Freud, 'The Uncanny', p. 249.
[92] Clarke, p. 24.
[93] Freud, 'The Uncanny', p. 241.

railway and the press been invented'.[94] The expansion of the infrastructure of the Congo Free State would 'enable the enterprising whites, with their following of armed men, rubber collectors, timber contractors and gum traders, agents of police and missionaries, to let light upon the trackless region.' Cloaked as it was in Stanley's rhetoric of racial liberalism and colonial altruism, the fate of 'the oldest monarchy in the world' was still frighteningly clear. The pygmies must choose assimilation or extinction.

> Though the pigmies are averse to light and sunshine, *some will survive* the great change, and in many a story of pioneering which will be written in the future, I have not the least doubt they will prove themselves to be very much like the rest of humanity, and quite as susceptible to the sentiments of love, affection, and gratitude as any of us. [My emphasis][95]

Stanley's text, like all exploration narratives – and all narratives of modernisation – evokes an elegiac nostalgia for the very otherness it seeks to assimilate/obliterate. It is a trope Patrick Brantlinger has described as the 'proleptic elegy', in which the 'lost object' is mourned 'before it is completely lost' and hence willed to extinction.[96] Stanley highlights the railway and the newspaper as the modern apparatus which enable us to *know* the pygmies. But, according to Stanley's own metaphor, this shaft of light will destroy the majority of the pygmies who, like another famously atavistic figure of the 1890s, Count Dracula, 'are averse to light and sunshine' and can only cling to the slim hope that they will 'survive the great change'.

The shedding of civilising light upon a place of darkness – the rhetorical cliché most often associated with exploration narratives – is never more thickly laid on by Stanley than in his Gothic portrait of the 'Primeval Forest' of Ituri. But Stanley's figurative act of illumination not only threatens the continued existence of 'the oldest aristocracy in the world', it exposes the limits of the universalising project of empire. While many travellers predicted the extinction of the pygmies, others detected the resilience of their culture and their resistance to the homogenising tendencies of cultural imperialism. When the Viscount Mountmorres – an arch-imperialist and outspoken apologist for the atrocities of the Congo Free State – encountered the pygmies, he was, like many other travellers, charmed by their novelty. He expressed his admiration for 'the spotless cleanliness of their population' and could not conceal his fondness for 'an amusing, laughter-loving, mischievous people'.

[94] Stanley, 'The Pigmies', p. 17.
[95] Stanley, 'The Pigmies', p. 17.
[96] Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, p. 4.

Though ostensibly despairing at attempts to 'civilise' the pygmies, Mountmorres's account of their resistance to colonial sovereignty and capitalist economic structures, nonetheless demonstrates how colonial texts can often testify to otherwise unrecorded instances of indigenous resistance and subversion.

> They will descend on a banana grove and strip it bare in a single night, invariably leaving, however, portions of the carcasses of antelopes or any other game which they have recently killed, by way of payment; and when caught red-handed in these raids they argue that their procedure is the same as that of the white man, who makes no plantations himself, but takes produce from those who have plantations, and gives them other things in exchange. Desultory attempts have been made to civilise this people, but without the smallest success. Owing to the ease and rapidity with which they move their habitations as soon as their locality is discovered, it is impossible to tax them or to get into close touch with them; whilst those who have been brought into white stations to perform their share of the contract labour, have been so miserable and have pined so rapidly in the unaccustomed restraint of ordinary modes of life that it has always been found necessary to release them again.[97]

5.5 Pygmies in Britain

Before Stanley had even returned from his expedition, the pygmies of the Congo were already making headlines in Britain. The extracts of Stanley's dispatches published in the press had given pride of place to his observations on pygmy life, playing down the shambolic 'rescue' of Emin Pasha. There were pygmy-related music hall and variety shows such as 'Stanley and His African Dwarfs: A New and Unique Entertainment' in which Stanley was portrayed as side show exhibitor, leading his troop of blackface dwarfs through a routine of comic sketches and musical numbers.[98] But British audiences didn't have to rely on blacked-upped locals for pygmy-themed diversions for long. In February 1891, P. T. Barnum arranged for a group advertised as 'Stanley's Pigmies' to be exhibited in London.[99] In June of the same year William Cross, an English naturalist, displayed a pygmy woman in Liverpool who created a stir by displaying her accomplished grasp of the English

[97] Mountmorres, p. 39.
[98] *Northern Echo*, 24 Nov. 1889, p. 1. F. B. Van Wart is credited as the author in a published scenario '[specially] adapted for representations at Schools, Bazaars, and all Entertainments'. *Stanley and His African Dwarfs: A New and Unique Entertainment* (London: Samuel French, 1889).
[99] *Aberdeen Journal*, 14 Feb. 1891, p. 7.

language and an 'alarming partiality for good cigars'.[100] In 1904 the traveller and big-game hunter Col. James Harrison went to the Congo with the aim of bagging the pelt of the recently discovered Okapi. On his way, he passed through Brussels, and requested permission from the Belgian authorities 'to take home some of the pygmies to England'.[101] Harrison eventually brought a group of six Mbuti 'volunteers' to Britain, where William Hoffman (Stanley's private valet during the EPRE) accompanied the men and women on an eighteen-month tour of British music halls. The pygmies 'appeared twice nightly on the stage, singing their native folk-songs and dancing to their primitive drums and zithers' and the tour was reasonably successful, despite the performers' recurring illnesses in the English climate.[102] The group visited art galleries, society parties, the Natural History Museum, and parliament.[103] They were recorded by the London Gramophone company and William Goscombe John exhibited a bust of one of the men at the Royal Academy.[104] The only major hiccup of the tour occurred when one of the pygmy women threatened a mocking Glasgow youth with her hunting knife; although even this went down well, the audience reportedly thrilled that finally 'the savages were running amok and displaying their true cannibalistic tendencies'.[105] 'Harrison's pygmies' toured Britain on and off for three years, and were seen by over a million Britons before eventually returning to their homeland with Colonel Harrison in 1907.[106] In the same year a pygmy delegation was brought to America for the World's Fair, in St. Louis. One of the pygmies, Ota Benga – a former slave – elected to stay in the US and was 'engaged' by the Bronx Zoo where he was briefly housed in the monkey house next to an Orang-utan as a practical demonstration of evolutionary theory.[107] Although the pygmies on show were frequently advertised as the 'missing-link', they were nonetheless usually expected to entertain in the manner of a music hall 'turn' in spectacles which blurred the lines between theatrical performance, ethnographic lecture and freak show. For Stanley, the public exhibition of pygmies was a

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[100] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 June 1891, p. 5.
[101] James Harrison, *Life Among the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, Congo Free State* (London: Hutchinson, 1905), pp. 5-6.
[102] William Hoffman, *With Stanley in Africa* (London: Cassell, 1938), p. 277. Stanley's widow, Dorothy attended a private viewing of Colonel Harrison's 'Ituri Forest' pygmies in the company of her adopted son Denzil and the explorer Harry Johnston. Dorothy Stanley to Henry S. Wellcome, 6 June 1905. RGS, MS HMS 3/5 D.
[103] Jeffrey P. Green, 'A Revelation in Strange Humanity: Six Congo Pygmies in Britain, 1905-1907' in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. by Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 163-173.
[104] Green, p. 178.
[105] Hoffman, p. 277.
[106] Green, pp. 183-86.
[107] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), pp. 169-90.

convenient symbol of the mutability of empire. In his Royal Albert Hall speech he playfully referred to a story in Herodotus of how 'the little men took [captured North African explorers] to their villages and showed them about to their fellow pygmies much as you would like us to show the pygmies about England'.[108]

Although the pygmies had, for Europeans, just recently emerged from the realm of fable, in the midst of Stanley-mania they were soon re-mythologised and symbolically appropriated in all manner of ways. In one cartoon, printed shortly after Stanley's return to Britain, *Punch* depicts Stanley as the Modern Hercules staving off an attack from 'the innumerable, inquisitive, imperturbably impertinent pygmies of Societas'. These diminutive antagonists are depicted as British Lilliputians in top-hats and tails, bombarding the embattled explorer with arrows labelled 'Dinner', 'Reception' and 'Soirée' – a reference to the hectic social schedule which the explorer was forced to maintain on his return to London in 1890.[109] When the pharmaceutical magnate Henry S. Wellcome sprang to Stanley's defence in the face of accusations of brutality, he naturally opted for the metaphor of the moment: 'the few and feeble attacks upon you have lost their potency in the face of your last overwhelming achievement', he wrote to Stanley in 1890, '[the] men who now make attacks upon you are pigmies who desire to force themselves into notoriety by denouncing you'.[110]

In this way, the pygmy metaphor soon drifted well beyond its original context. One radical pamphlet of 1890 alleged that

> Tories are like the black dwarfs Stanley found in the great forest of Central Africa. All the people around them are tall and robust, but they have been made what they are by unfavourable conditions. They are dwarfs because they live in perpetual gloom and damp, because they never see the sun or feel the breeze, and because they have no better food than snakes. Cut down the forest, let in the light, cultivate the soil, and a better race of men will take their place. But things being as they are, it is natural that these gloomy, snake-fed, feeble folk, should carry on their warfare with ambushes and little poisoned arrows. In this opportune illustration read the history, and the end of Toryism.[111]

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[108] *The Times*, 6 May 1890, p. 10.
[109] *Punch,* 17 May 1890, pp. 230-31.
[110] Henry Wellcome to Stanley, London, 31 Jan. 1890. RGS, MS HMS 3/2.
[111] The pamphlet entitled 'Tory Pranks' was quoted by Lionel Holland, Conservative candidate for Eye, during a meeting in the manufacturing town of Leiston, Suffolk on 7 July 1890. *Ipswich Journal*, 12 Jul. 1890, p. 4.

The pygmies proved a convenient political allegory and their anticipated extinction via natural selection became a favourite metaphor for the anticipated collapse of Lord Salisbury's minority government. But it wasn't just Tories who faced allegations of pygmyism. In a tirade against the Liberal Unionist Chancellor's new act on Anglo-Irish trade, an Irish Nationalist MP, Timothy Michael Healy, suggested that the 'forest pigmies Stanley described could have invented better legislation'.[112] In 1892, shortly after the general election in which Stanley ran as a Liberal Unionist candidate for North Lambeth, the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal* dismissed the breakaway party as a feeble group of political lackeys and referred to their leader, Joseph Chamberlain, as 'a Titan among the Liberal Unionist pigmies'.[113]

The most famous allegorical appropriation of Stanley's 'dwarfs' appeared in William Booth's reformist manifesto, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890). Booth takes Stanley's two 'types' of pygmy – which he describes as the 'human baboon' and the 'handsome dwarf' – as an allegory for two distinct types of urban poor: 'the vicious, lazy lout, and the toiling slave'. He reads the degradations of 'Darkest England', where the honest and desperate poor were being exploited and enslaved by the 'barbarians' of industrial capitalism, as equivalent to the 'horrors [. . .] which Stanley had found existing in the great Equatorial forest [. . .] as there is a darkest Africa, is there not also a darkest England? Civilisation [. . .] can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its own pygmies?'[114] The notion that the social conditions of contemporary Britain could lead to the physical degeneration of the racial stock was nothing new. In George Eliot's 1860 novel *Silas Marner*, the titular weaver, a migrant from the city to the countryside is described as belonging to a class of 'certain pallid undersized men, who, by the side of the brawny country-folk, looked like the remnants of a disinherited race'.[115] However, Stanley's tales of the decline and fall of the 'undisputed lords' of Africa would have set alarm bells ringing in the imperial metropolis of London where, in Booth's opinion, conditions were every bit as de-humanising as the Ituri forest – the only difference being that 'the ghastly devastation is covered, corpse-like, with the artificialities and hypocrisies of modern civilisation'. After all, in his travels through 'Darkest England', Booth had himself witnessed the 'dwarfish de-

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[112] *Aberdeen Journal*, 20 May 1890, p. 5. Revered for his acid-tongue, a few months later Healy would be instrumental in the downfall of Charles Stewart Parnell, leader of the Irish Party in the Commons.
[113] 'London Correspondence', *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Aug. 1892, p. 5. For more on Stanley's North Lambeth campaigns see Alex Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London, 1868-1906* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2007), pp. 165-175.
[114] William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: The Salvation Army, 1890), pp. 11-12. Driver discusses Booth's metaphorical use of African exploration at length in *Geography Militant,* pp. 170-98.
[115] George Eliot, *Silas Marner* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1861), p. 1.

humanized inhabitants' of the industrial districts.[116] In his *Autobiography* Stanley himself would later recall the dehumanising conditions he and his schoolmates endured in the St. Asaph's workhouse, a combination of 'inhuman discipline' and 'excessive confinement' that 'ought to have dwarfed their bodies, crushed their spirits, and made them hopelessly imbecile' (*A* 16). In February 1891, the radical *Reynolds' Newspaper* betrayed similar concerns in its reaction to the War Minister Edward Stanhope's admission that the decreasing stature of recruits was the inevitable result of the fact that 'women are now shorter': 'it means that the conditions of modern industry having made our working women [. . .] a race of slaves, their stature has been arrested, and we are becoming a nation of commercial dwarfs'.[117] In an atmosphere of such anxiety it took no great leap for H. G. Wells to imagine a future society in which humanity had evolved into two distinct species. In the *Time Machine* (1895) the chronic explorer penetrates a forest inhabited by two dwarfish races (the effete Eloi and the bestial Morlocks), perhaps an echo of Stanley and Booth's distinction between the 'handsome dwarf' and the 'human baboon'.[118] However, these pygmies are not the degenerate progeny of some obscure African race; they are the direct descendants of nineteenth-century Londoners, and the cause of their degeneration *is* the modern industrial civilisation which was meant to ensure British imperial dominance**.** In this sense the 'marginal modernities' of the colonial frontier became more essential than ever to ensuring the health and vigour of the metropolis. Booth began his manifesto with a cast of pygmies borrowed from Stanley's *Darkest Africa*, but he concludes with a scheme for the mass migration of the rehabilitated urban poor to a utopian 'Colony across the Sea'.[119] It was the outward movement of empire, and the inward flow of tales of exploration and conquest, which prevented the inmates of Darkest London from going the way of the snake-fed pygmies and the cave-dwelling Picts.

But there were also external threats to Britain's imperial dominance. In the summer of 1890 Stanley and his African Dwarfs battled for space in the newspapers and magazines with more sobering reflections on the rise of imperial Germany as the dominant colonial power in East Africa. On 1 July 1890, while Stanley and the pygmies were making headlines, Lord Salisbury and Bismark concluded the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, which

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[116] Booth, pp. 11-12. For more on contemporary theories of urban degeneration see Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, C.1848-C.1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 176-221.
[117] *Reynold's Newspaper*, 22 Feb. 1891, p. 8
[118] H. G. Wells, *The Time Machine*, ed. by John Lawton (London: J. M. Dent, 1995). Wells would later recall how his school teacher would 'get excited by his morning paper and then [. . .] we would follow the search for Livingstone by Stanley in Darkest Africa' on a large map pinned up on the classroom wall. H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography* (1934; repr. London: Lippincott, 1967), p. 66.
[119] Booth, pp. 90-3.

established the borders of the British East Africa Protectorate (modern Kenya and Uganda) and German East Africa (modern Tanzania). The negotiations also involved the return of the tiny North Sea island of Heligoland, which had been seized by the British Fleet during the Napoleonic Wars.[120]As a result of the treaty, Britain was forced to publicly acknowledge the presence of a new imperial competitor in Africa. Stanley's rescue of an ungrateful 'German Jew' was frequently read in the context of the rise of imperial Germany by commentators in the journals and newspapers.

In satirical cartoons Stanley was touted as pioneering hero, while Salisbury was depicted as a political heel-dragger, reluctant to accept the burden of imperial responsibility and colonise the lands which had been 'opened up' by the golden generation of British explorers. *Punch* pictured the German Chancellor Leo von Caprivi trying to snatch the map of Africa from under the paw of the British Lion, while Stanley anxiously prods the beast with his cane and commands him to stay alert.[121] Another full-page cartoon depicted the explorer offering the prize of East Africa (in the guise of an androgynous black youth partially clad in leopard-skin) to a reluctant Salisbury.[122] Nearly two-months on, the joke still had legs and *Punch* again made light of the confusion between the two stories: In a polite middle-class parlour a lady inquires of her companion 'By the way, where *is* that place, Heligoland, they're all talking so much about?' 'Don't you know, dear?', replies the other, 'It's one of the places lately discovered by Mr. Stanley!'[123] A contemporary number of the *Fortnightly Review*, which carried a review of Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*, featured no less than three anxious essays on the theme of 'England and Germany in Africa' – including contributions by the explorers Harry Johnson and Verney Lovett Cameron.[124] In the context of Britain's contemporary struggles with Sudanese rebels and German imperial competitors, Stanley's account of the pygmy empire which endured while 'countless dynasties of Egypt and Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome, have [. . .] expired' (*IDA* 2:40-41) stood as potent warning against complacency and hubris and raised the spectral image of a ruined empire destined, as in Kipling's famous 'Recessional' (1897), to become 'one with Nineveh and Tyre'.[125]

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[120] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 290-300.
[121] *Punch*, 24 May 1890, p. 246.
[122] *Punch*, 7 June 1890, p. 266.
[123] *Punch*, 26 July 1890, p. 39.
[124] *Fortnightly Review*, 48 (1890), 1-164.
[125] Rudyard Kipling, 'Recessional', *Collected Verse* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1907), p. 219.

5.6 Conclusion

The pygmies of Central Africa have continued to fascinate anthropologists and ethnographers ever since these early encounters. Colin Turnbull's *The Forest People* (1961) remains the most intimate account of the Ituri pygmies. Turnbull presents the people he calls the 'BaMbuti' as animistic proto-hippies, living off the fruits of their isolated Eden and expressing their harmonious reverence for the forest through complex rituals of music and dance. His field recordings of pygmy music have attracted much attention from ethnomusicologists, and pygmy compositions have since been adapted and sampled by musicians as diverse as jazz-keyboardist Herbie Hancock, concert-pianist Pierre-Laurent Aimard, and ambient techno performer Eric Mouquet.[126] Yet, despite his apparent cultural sensitivity, Turnbull, much like his predecessors, is seduced by the mythology of the pygmies. He uncritically rehashes the ancient accounts of Homer and Herodotus and even offers an earlier account from Fourth-Dynasty Egypt of a traveller 'who entered a great forest to the west of the Mountains of the Moon and discovered there a people of the trees, a tiny people who sing and dance to their god, a dance such as had never seen before'.[127] For Turnbull the BaMbuti are in an unmediated state since the reign of 'the Pharaoh Nefrikare'. They are 'the real people of the forest [. . .] the oldest inhabitants' of the region he identifies as 'the heart of Stanley's "Dark Continent"'.[128]

Although the changing attitudes of Europeans to African pygmies seem to imply a progress towards a relativistic and non-hierarchical conception of difference, we should not lose sight of the fact that anthropologist's 'objectivity' and the modern traveller's 'relativism' are enabled, perhaps even created, by the unequal political and economic relationship between Europe and Africa. Although explorers like Du Chaillu, Schweinfurth, and Stanley were confident in their assessment of what constituted civilisation and progress, their dramatic encounters with difference, often provoked reflections in which we can detect the seeds of later relativistic and liberal attitudes to knowledge, culture, and society. If nineteenth-century explorers were always shrill in declaring and communicating

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[126] Colin Turnbull and Francis S. Chapman, *Music of the Ituri Forest* (Smithsonian Folkways, FW04483, 1992). The version of 'Watermelon Man' on Hancock's 1974 album *Head Hunters*, features percussionist Bill Summers blowing into a beer-bottle in imitation of the *hindewhu*, a type of whistle used by the Ba-Benzélé pygmies of the Central African Republic. The French concert pianist Pierre-Laurent Aimard's 2003 album *African Rythms* intersperses works by Steve Reich and György Ligeti with 'traditional African' material performed with a group of Aka pygmies. Eric Mouquet and Michael Sanchez's album *Deep Forest* (1992) combines samples from UNESCO recordings of Congolese pygmies with ambient electronic soundscapes. Steven Feld, 'Pygmy Pop. A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 28 (1996), 1-35.

[127] Turnbull, p. 20.

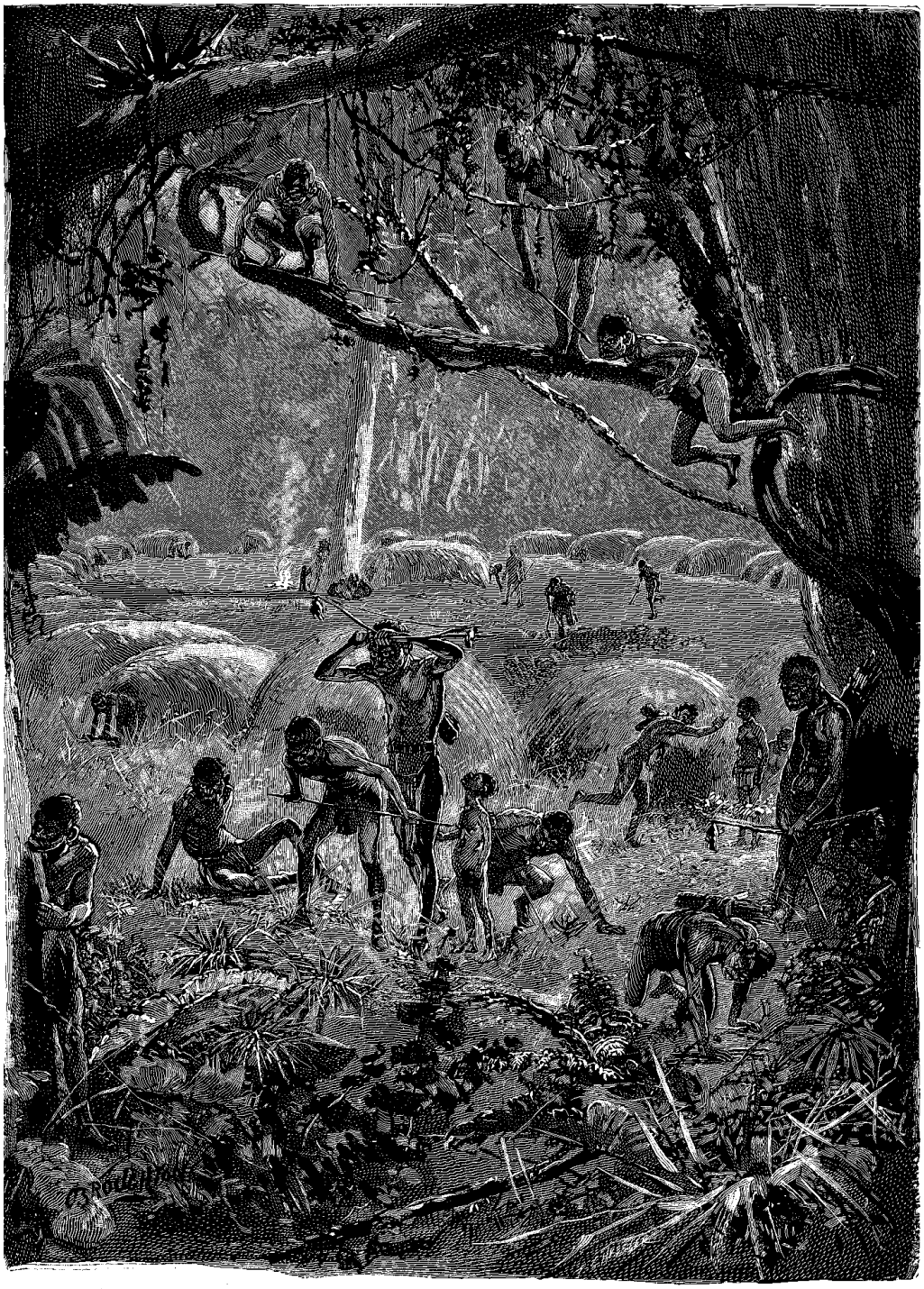
[128] Turnbull, pp. 17-19.

their ideologies and aims, the kind of travel and travel writing enabled by the geographies of twentieth and twenty-first-century neoliberalism often serve to conceal or obscure the continuing operation of neo-colonial power structures. Perhaps what we in fact see, as we trace these literary depictions through time, is the magnification of some elements of nineteenth-century discourse (curiosity, conservation, exoticism) alongside the elision or suppression of others (deterministic racism, Eurocentrism, jingoism).

Stanley's description of the Congolese pygmies demonstrates how scientifically-informed racism could be reconciled with the acknowledged existence of a civilised, historical Africa, and that the seemingly conflicting notions of the *African* as Missing Link and *Africa* as the birthplace of civilisation could both be accommodated within an uncompromised and essentially unreconstructed imperial rhetoric. But for Britons the 'African pygmy' also becomes a way of defining the spatial and temporal limits of the imperial present. If the past and future were peopled by giants and dwarfs, then the present is normalised and set to a human scale. The antic pygmy or degenerate dwarf becomes a rule against which to measure one's humanity and one's modernity.[129]

African pygmies were repeatedly abstracted and re-contextualised – made to perform as allegorical figures on the stage of the drama that is the progress of Western civilisation. Stanley sought to reconcile his modern ethnographic observation of the pygmies with literary myths stretching back to Homer. The 'savage' past of the human race becomes both an invention and a vindication of the present. In so doing he established a new pygmy mythology: a Darwinian fairytale which incorporated both mankind's savage origins and his projected extinction. Like Stanley's 'two types', the pygmy as mythic symbol was inherently ambivalent – the human baboon and the handsome dwarf; the lazy lout and the honest slave; the passive Eloi and the brutish Morlock – an equivocal figure, signifying Britain's horror of a savage past and anxiety over an uncertain future. From Stanley's 'African Dwarfs' to Turnbull's 'People of the Forest', there has been a tradition of literary appropriation and figurative colonisation of the African pygmy. These races have been repeatedly abstracted and re-contextualized, made to perform as allegorical – and actual – figures on the stage of the drama that is the progress of Western civilisation. Stanley's use of the pygmy points to a particular phase of this drama – a third act crisis – in which imperial hubris collides with uncertainty, and in which the muse of empire begins to resemble the 'tragic figure' of Stanley's pygmy Adam, a voice crying in the wilderness, railing against 'time and fate.'

[129] Fittingly the etymological route of 'pygmy' (Gk. *pygmaioi*, Lat. *pygmaei*) is a unit of measurement, corresponding to a part of the human body – the distance between the elbow and the knuckles (OED).



A Village of the Pigmies in the Great Forest.

Fig. 5.1: 'A Village of Pygmies in the Great Forest'. *Scribner's Magazine*, Jan. 1891.

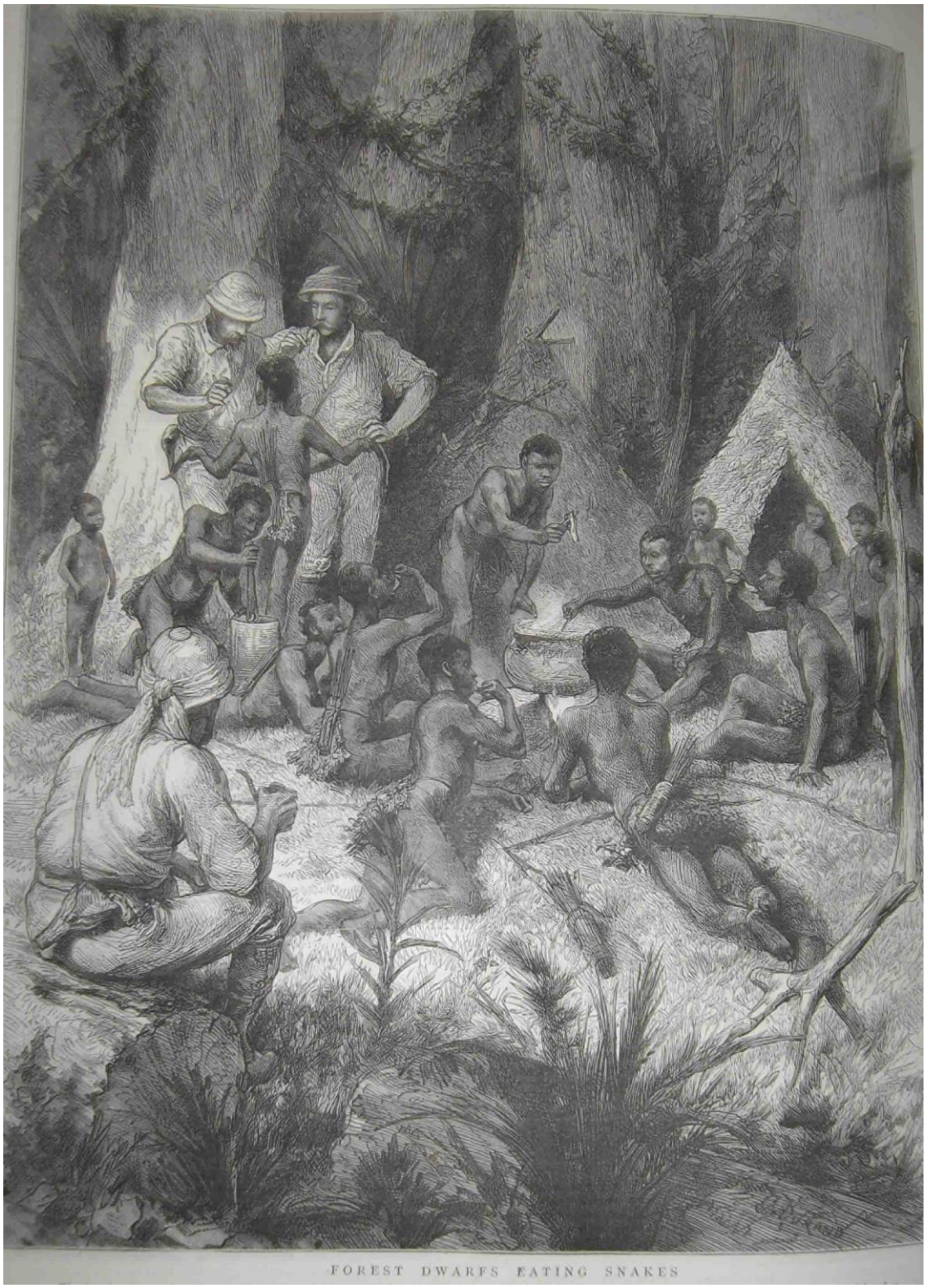


Fig. 5.2: 'Forest Dwarfs eating Snakes'. *Graphic*, 30 April 1890.

EPILOGUE

EXPLORATION AND THE POETICS OF MODERNITY

On Christmas Eve, 1876, Stanley and his Anglo-American Expedition were stranded on the upper reaches of the Congo River. It had been months since he had been able to send messages back to London. The beleaguered expedition had already been decimated by starvation, disease, and desertion. Two of Stanley's three white companions, Frederick Barker and Edward Pocock, were already dead. Arriving at the source waters of the Congo – just west of Lake Tanganyika – Stanley could either turn back eastwards along the relatively well-known Arab trade routes which led to the Indian Ocean or strike west and attempt to trace the river to its mouth at the Atlantic. In *Through the Dark Continent* Stanley reports that he delivered a rousing speech in an attempt to persuade his followers of the merits of the second and more perilous option:

> Into whichever sea this great river empties, there shall we follow it. You have seen that I have saved you a score of times, when everything looked black and dismal for us [. . .] Many of our party have already died, but death is the end of all; and if they died earlier than we, it was the will of God, and who shall rebel against His will? It may be we shall meet a hundred wild tribes yet who, for the sake of eating us, will rush to meet and fight us [. . .] Therefore, my children, make up your minds as I have made up mine, that as we are now in the very middle of this continent, and it would be just as bad to return as to go on, that we shall continue our journey, that we shall toil on, and on, by this river and no other, to the salt sea. (*TDC* 2: 148-49)

The speech is characteristic of Stanley's rhetoric. Using a trope borrowed from General William T. Sherman, he presents himself as the stern yet loving father who will lead his African children through their travails with a firm hand. Two years later, when Stanley came to write up his journals for *Through the Dark Continent*, he added a footnote to the end of this speech: 'A poetical friend on hearing this address brought to my notice a remarkable coincidence' (*TDC* 2: 149). This 'coincidence' was the resemblance between Stanley's speech and an existing dramatic monologue. Stanley includes the lines in question in his footnote:

My mariners,
Souls that have toil'd, and wrought, and thought with me –
That ever with a frolic welcome took
The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads – you and I are old;
Old age hath yet his honour and his toil;
Death closes all: but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.
[. . .]
Tho' much is taken, much abides; and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.[130]

These are, of course, the closing lines from Alfred Tennyson's 'Ulysses', published in 1842 and written in 1833 shortly after the death of Tennyson's closest friend Arthur Hallam, to whom the poem is partly a tribute.

We need to be sceptical of Stanley's assertion that the similarities between his speech and Tennyson's poem are the result of mere 'coincidence'. The version of the speech that appears in *Through the Dark Continent* is significantly re-written from an earlier – and distinctively less-Tennysonian – draft which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on 22 November 1877. This original despatch was written after Stanley's arrival at Loanda on the Atlantic coast on 5 September 1877, a full eight months after the supposed date of the original address.[131] His field journal for the same period contains no trace of the speech.[132] Whether or not Stanley ever made his pledge to 'toil on, and on' to the Western sea, the oration – as recorded in *Through the Dark Continent* – is certainly a later invention and was quite possibly re-written in light of the comparison with 'Ulysses'.

What does all this tell us about Stanley's self-image? Certainly the bedraggled, ageing navigator who 'cannot rest from travel', despite having 'suffered greatly' for his pains, reflects something of Stanley's stubbornness in the face of ill health and the dangers

[130] Alfred Tennyson, 'Ulysses', *Tennyson: Poems and Plays*, ed. by T. Herbert Warren. Revised and enlarged by Frederick Page (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 89-90.
[131] H. M. Stanley, 'Mr. Stanley's Mission', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 November 1877, p. 2.
[132] H. M. Stanley, Field Journal (21 August 1876 - 3 March 1877). RMCA, MS 18.

encountered on his many journeys. As Marianna Torgovnick notes, Stanley's 'goals are, like Odysseus', clear and immutable though his adventures along the way are startling and unpredictable'.[133] There is also something of Stanley's notorious braggadocio in Ulysses' description of his own lengthy expedition, which comes across as a blend of ethnographic field-trip and martial campaign.

> Much have I seen and known; cities of men
> And manners, climates, councils, governments,
> [. . .]
> And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
> Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.

But Tennyson's Ulysses is a complicated and conflicted hero. For Christopher Ricks the 'poem conveys a dragging sense of inertia, of ennui, played against the vocabulary of adventure and enterprise'.[134] Tennyson himself would later claim that the poem encapsulated his 'feeling about the need to go forward'.[135] As Herbert Tucker highlights, Tennyson's phrasing here is revealing. Tennyson 'refers not to progress, nor to that rather different thing, a need for progress, but instead to a feeling about such a need'.[136] While Ulysses might feel the need to make a move, he is nonetheless static for the duration of the poem. Tennyson's primary source is not Homer but Dante's description of Ulysses in Canto XXVI of *The Inferno*, where the Greek hero delivers a similarly rousing speech to his mariners. However, his final voyage west ends with his shipwreck and death beyond the Pillars of Hercules, as the Homeric wanderer is left to plead his case in Hell. But perhaps these tragic outcomes are reflected in the mood of slightly reckless fatalism that characterises Stanley's own speech. His none-too-assuring sketch of the future ('It may be we shall meet a hundred wild tribes') echoes the uncertainty with which Ulysses pitches his expedition: 'It may be that the gulfs will wash us down; / It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles / And see the great Achilles, whom we knew'.

Matthew Rowlinson notes that Ulysses, who confers 'Unequal laws onto a savage race', sounds a bit 'like a colonial administrator turning over the reins to his successor just

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[133] Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), p. 26.
[134] Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 115.
[135] Matthew Rowlinson, *Tennyson's Fixations: Psychoanalysis and the Topics of the Early Poetry* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), p. 142.
[136] Herbert F. Tucker, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 211.

before stepping on the boat to go home'.[137] And the navigator seems to acknowledge the end of an heroic age of exploration when he passes the torch to his son Telemachus. The skills required of a provincial King, faced with the task of making mild a 'rugged people, and thro' soft degrees' subduing 'them to the useful and the good', are those of the politician and lawmaker rather than the explorer. Perhaps Stanley too foresaw the impending end of his role: the explorer's highest achievement is to render further exploration unnecessary. But then Stanley had always straddled the explorer/colonist divide. Immediately after the AAE, he would be enlisted by Leopold II to 'build' what became the largest European colony in Africa: the Congo Free State. Did Stanley already have his eye on the job of colonial administrator as he battled his way down the Congo? Daniel Bivona suggests as much in his appraisal of *Through the Dark Continent* as 'a mid-Victorian textbook in management, containing the whole science of how to discipline an unruly Africa'.[138]

One of Tennyson's earliest significant compositions, his Cambridge prize poem 'Timbuctoo' (1829), demonstrates an early engagement with the subject of African exploration and may have been influenced by accounts of contemporary explorers.[139] The Scottish explorer Mungo Park had been killed on the way to Timbuktu in 1816 and his countryman Alexander Gordon Laing reached the city in 1826 but was subsequently murdered. The French explorer René Caillié became the first non-Muslim to return alive to Europe from Timbuktu in 1828 and the account of his journey was published in French and English a year after Tennyson's poem in 1830.[140] In Tennyson's 'Timbuctoo' exploration and discovery are presented as inherently disillusioning. The poet may bask in an 'Imperial El Dorado' of glistening minarets and 'tremulous domes' but when the time comes for the imaginary city to render up its secrets to 'keen *Discovery*':

> yon brilliant towers
> Shall darken with the waving of [a] wand;
> Darken, and shrink and shiver into huts,
> Black specks amid a waste of dreary sand,

[137] Matthew Rowlinson, 'The Ideological Moment of Tennyson's "Ulysses"', *Victorian Poetry*, 30 (1992), 265-276 (p. 267).
[138] Daniel Bivona, *British Imperial Literature, 1870-1940: Writing and the Administration of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 60.
[139] Rowlinson, *Tennyson's Fixations*, p. 44.
[140] René Caillié, *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830).

Low-built, mud-walled, Barbarian settlement.[141]

The 'opening up' of Timbuktu to the European gaze disables the play of the imagination and replaces a phantasmagoric fiction with a grim reality.

Yet, Tennyson did occasionally valorise explorers. There was certainly something of Ulysses' determination in the poet's uncle-in-law, the Arctic explorer John Franklin, whose ill-fated mission to find the North West passage was a popular locus of literary sentiment throughout the period.[142] In a brief epitaph written for Franklin's tomb at Westminster Abbey in 1877, Tennyson set Franklin 'passing on [a] happier voyage now / Toward no earthly pole' – a journey which has strong shades of Ulysses' final expedition to: 'follow knowledge like a sinking star, / Beyond the utmost bound of human thought'. While Tennyson was composing these lines, Stanley was making his way down the Congo and although there is no evidence that Tennyson connected Franklin's doomed expedition with that of Stanley's, he had a good reason for associating the two explorers. Franklin's widow, who commissioned the epitaph, was an enthusiastic supporter of Stanley's. Lady Franklin had attended the explorer's controversial address to the British Association at Brighton in 1872, and in March 1874 Tennyson dined at Lady Franklin's London residence where he met 'Stanley, the Livingston finder' [sic].[143]

Neither was Tennyson averse to comparing travellers ancient and modern. His 1888 poem 'To Ulysses' identified the Homeric voyager with his friend William Gifford Palgrave, author of the travelogue *Ulysses, or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands* (1887).[144] Tennyson's poem was explicitly associated with Stanley's expeditions in 1889 by the appropriately-named RGS fellow Arthur Hallam Montefiore, who used the famous final line ('To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield') as the epigram to his unauthorised biography of Stanley.[145] The line has since been evoked to hail the achievements of a diverse range of explorers, including Mungo Park and the Antarctic explorer Roald

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[141] Alfred Tennyson, 'Timbuctoo', *Poems and Plays*, pp. 832-35 (p. 835). Compare Caillé's first impressions of the city: 'I had formed a totally different idea of the grandeur and wealth of Timbuctoo. The city presented, at first view, nothing but a mass of ill-looking houses, built of earth. Nothing was to be seen in all directions but immense plains of quicksand of a yellowish white colour'. *Travels through Central Africa*, vol. II, p. 49.
[142] Erika Behrisch, '"Far as the eye can reach": Scientific Exploration and Explorers Poetry in the Arctic, 1832-1852', *Victorian Poetry*, 41 (2003), 73-91 (pp. 78, 86).
[143] Tennyson to Emily Sellwood Tennyson, 21 March 1874. Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon (eds.), *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), vol. III, p. 76; Frank McLynn, *Stanley: Dark Genius of African Exploration* (London: Pimlico, 2004), vol. I, p. 220.
[144] Tennyson, 'To Ulysses', *Poems and Plays*, pp. 802-3; W. Gifford Palgrave, *Ulysses, or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands* (London Macmillan, 1887).
[145] Arthur Montefiore, *Henry M. Stanley: the African Explorer* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1889).

Amundsen.[146] The memorial to Amundsen's British rival Captain Robert Scott and his three companions on Observation Hill in Antarctica carries the same lines – originally scrawled on a wooden cross by Edward Atkinson and Apsley Cherry-Garrard after they recovered the men's frozen bodies.[147] Despite the propensity of critics to find an undercutting irony in Tennyson's poem, it continues to be appropriated as an inspirational maxim. The line was recently selected by a panel of judges as the official motto of the London 2012 Olympic Village.[148]

Stanley himself encouraged his readers to look at Africa through the prism of English and European poetry. Over the course of his four major African travel books the explorer quotes Milton, Pope, Gray, Byron, Longfellow, Matthew Prior, Robert Browning, and Ferdinand Freiligrath, among others. Pope's translations of Homer were a particular favourite, and Stanley continually saw the heroic age of *The Iliad* – with its indefatigable warriors and despotic monarchs – reflected in pre-colonial Africa. The Wahumba tribe of Tanzania were the 'Greeks of Africa [. . .] Athletes from their youth, shepherd bred [. . .] any of them would form a fit subject for the sculptor who would wish to immortalize in marble an Antinous, a Hylas, a Daphnis, or an Apollo (*HIFL* 161-62). In the Kingdom of Buganda , the court of the Mutesa I was guarded by loyal band of 'Amazons' (*TDC* 1: 314); at Bagamayo, on the Tanzanian coast, the Sultan of Zanzibar's authority was enforced by his fearsome battalion of 'myrmidons' (*TDC* 1: 58). Stanley describes a group of warriors in the village Simbawenni in Western Tanzania 'holding in one hand the spear, the bow, and sheaf or musket, [while they] embraced with the other their respective friends, like so many models of Nisus and Euryalus, Theseus and Pirithous, Damon and Pythias, or Achilles and Patroclus' (*HIFL* 103).[149] These pairings are all exemplary models of homosocial friendship, fidelity, and love, perhaps reflecting Stanley's own sentimental portrayal of his relationship with Livingstone. It could be that Stanley regarded his efforts to forge a cult of manly Saxon sentimentalism as a return to a Homeric golden age, a movement mirrored by Ulysses' rejection of his 'aged wife' and embrace of manly adventure. It is certainly fitting that Stanley should cite Tennyson's lament for Arthur Hallam in *Through the Dark Continent*,

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[146] M. B. Synge, *The Struggle for Sea Power* (1903; repr. Chapel Hill NC: Yesterday's Classics, 2006), p. 102; Edward J. Larson, *An Empire on Ice: Scott, Shackleton, and the Heroic Age of Antarctic Science* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 249.

[147] Robert Falcon Scott, *Journals: Scott's Last Expedition*, ed. by Max Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 456.

[148] Stephen Bates, 'Tennyson verse chosen to inspire Olympic athletes', *Guardian*, 4 March 2011, p. 11.

[149] Stanley's Homeric comparisons were not always figurative. In 1900 he noted that a 'Prince of Ethiopia – the famous Memnon – lent aid to Troy in the thirteenth century before Christ'. 'The Origin of the Negro Race', *North American Review*, 170 (1900), 656-665 (p. 659-60).

a work which is framed by Stanley's grief at the death of Livingstone and his own feeling 'about the need to go forward'.

Stanley's insistent reading of Africans as the relics of some departed heroic age brings us back once again to McClintock's 'anachronistic space' and Fabian's 'denial of coevalness', but Stanley's classical comparisons also testify to a more specific cultural trend.[150] As Simon Dentith has shown, for many of the poets and translators of the nineteenth century the 'appropriate comparison for early epic poetry was [. . .] not the finished poetic products of the modern world but traditional and popular poetry, traces of which were still to be found, especially in rude or undeveloped regions'.[151] Dentith is particularly interested in the interplay between Homeric translation and traditional ballad forms. Stanley makes similar primitivist comparisons, and his books often feature his own verse 'translations' of Swahili oral literature. In one particularly Hellenic sounding description of a Swahili recitation from the end of *Through the Dark Continent*, Murabo, one of Stanley's own Zanzabari 'mariners', celebrates the achievements of the expedition with a improvised song.

> Murabo, the boatboy, struck up a glorious loud-swelling chant of triumph and success, into which he deftly, and with a poet's licence, interpolated verses laudatory of the white men of the second sea. The bard, extemporizing, sang much about the great cataracts, cannibals, and pagans, hunger, the wide wastes, great inland seas, and niggardly tribes [. . .] at the end of each verse the voices rose high and clear to the chorus —
>
> 'Then sing, friends, Sing ; the journey is ended;
> Sing aloud, friends, sing to this great sea' (*TDC* 2: 353-54).

Although Stanley, as we have seen, doubted the expressive abilities of indigenous Africans, the African-American historian George Washington Williams cites Stanley's translations in support of his claim that Africans possessed 'the poetic element in a large degree'. In his restorative history, it is no surprise that Williams is particularly keen on locating the 'the epic poetry of Africa'[152] Indeed, Williams makes use of the 'denial of coevalness' himself

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[150] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 40-42; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 31.

[151] Simon Dentith, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 10.

[152] George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1819-1880* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1882), pp. 74-75

when he asserts that the 'poetry of the primitive and hardy Saxon gives the reader an excellent idea of the vigorous earnest, and gorgeous effusions of the African'.[153] In his reading of Stanley, Williams pays particular attention to an 'idyl, extemporized by one of Stanley's black soldiers, on the occasion of reaching Lake Nyanza', which he thinks 'possesses more energy of movement, perspicuity of style, and warm, glowing imagery, than any song of its character we have yet met with from the lips of unlettered Negroes'.[154] The Wanyamwezi song in question is, according to Stanley, 'as literal a translation' as possible; although suspiciously its major theme is the munificence and benevolence of the expedition leader himself:

> Kaduma's land is just below;
> He is rich in cattle, sheep and goats.
> The Musungu [white man] is rich, in cloth and beads;
> His hand is open, and his heart is free.
>
> To-morrow the Msungu must make us strong
> With meat and beer, wine and grain.
> We shall dance and play the livelong day,
> And eat and drink, and sing and play. (*TDC* 1: 112-13)

Stanley's folksy tetrameter is more balladic than Homeric and Williams is undoubtedly on to something when he observes that 'in the last verse the child-nature of the singer riots like "The May Queen" of Tennyson'. [155]

Stanley's own poetic experiments were not limited to translation and adaptation. The explorer's unpublished field journal from the Anglo-American Expedition includes an incomplete attempt at original verse: a lugubrious lyric on the quest for the sources of the Nile, which he abandoned in a flurry of deletions after a few faltering stanzas. In the final complete stanza, Stanley sketches his own geographical achievements, as he leads his reluctant mariners West across the inland sea of Tanganyika in Ulyssian mode.

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[153] Ibid., p. 75-76.
[154] Ibid., p. 79.
[155] Williams, *Negro Race*, p. 79. Compare Tennyson, 'The May Queen' (1833), *Poems and Plays*, pp. 47-48:

> The night-winds come and go, mother, upon the meadow-grass,
> And the happy stars above them seem to brighten as they pass;
> There will not be a drop of rain the whole of the livelong day,
> And I'm to be Queen o' the May, mother, I'm to be Queen o' the May.

Westward for Tanganyika shore
We flew to the trial of might
Determined to die or explore
The wild lands which stood on its right.[156]

Stanley's expeditions, facilitated as they were by the most recent breakthroughs in engineering, medicine, and weapons technology, were (to use Jonathan Harker's phrase) 'nineteenth-century up-to-date with a vengeance'.[157] Nevertheless these journeys were presented paradoxically as romances and epics from an heroic era, all the more urgent for their anachronistic persistence in the age of electricity and steam.

As Stanley mentioned, he was alerted to the similarities between his speech and Tennyson's poem by a 'poetical friend'. This 'poetical friend' was most likely Edwin Arnold, the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*. Arnold had joined the paper as a promising young leader writer in 1861. By 1873, when Arnold was appointed editor-in-chief, the paper had a largest circulation in the world and significantly outsold its nearest rival in Britain, *The Times*.[158] In 1874, the *Telegraph* – at Arnold's behest – co-sponsored Stanley's Anglo-American Expedition. In a letter to Stanley's publisher Edward Marston in 1878, Arnold praised *Through the Dark Continent* as 'an Odyssey of travel, admirable, gallant, unique, with a style *sui generis* like the swing of a traveller's stride'.[159]

But Arnold's own literary exploits were not restricted to journalism. In 1879, shortly after the success of the AAE, Arnold would achieve widespread recognition as a poet with the publication of *The Light of Asia* (1879). This hugely popular verse life of Siddhartha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, was composed, according to Arnold, 'to aid in the better mutual knowledge of East and West'.[160] As we have seen, Stanley was receptive to the advice of his 'poetical friend' but the explorer would, in turn, exert a significant influence over Arnold's poetry. Stanley read the poem before its publication and was impressed with Arnold's efforts but advised him that a sequel with 'the Christ as the central figure' would be an even greater success.[161] Whether or not Stanley's intervention was decisive, Arnold did indeed produce a Christian sequel to *The Light of Asia*. However,

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[156] Stanley, Field Journal (21 August 1876 - 3 March 1877). RMCA MS 18.
[157] Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 36.
[158] Edwin S. Arnold (ed.), *The Arnold Poetry Reader* (London: Kegan Paul, 1920), pp. 5-10.
[159] Edwin Arnold qtd. in Edward Marston, *After Work: Fragments from the Workshop of an Old Publisher* (London: William Heinemann, 1904), p. 226-27.
[160] Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia, or the Great Renunciation* (Boston: Roberts, 1879), xi.
[161] Wright, *Interpreter of Buddhism to the West: Sir Edwin Arnold* (New York: Bookman, 1957), p. 152.

The Light of the World (1891) was a critical and commercial failure and even Stanley was disappointed with the result.[162]

Arnold's final poem, *The Voyage of Ithobal* (1901), also bears the mark of his friendship with Stanley. By 1901 Arnold was blind and partially paralysed as a result of long-term illness and he wrote his final epic entirely by dictation.[163] Taking his inspiration from a short passage in Herodotus, Arnold relates the story of a Phoenician expedition sent by an Egyptian pharaoh to circumnavigate the African continent. Whereas Tennyson had distilled the drama and emotion of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and a Canto from Dante into seventy lines of taut pentameter, in the *Voyage of Ithobal* Arnold expands a comparatively brief passage of ancient prose into a seven-book blank-verse epic. Arnold's hero Ithobal – an aging Phoenician sea-dog with a poetic disposition and an insatiable wanderlust – certainly cuts an Ulyssian figure and critics were quick to point out Arnold's reliance on Tennysonian cadences and repetitions.[164] One reviewer compared a passage from 'Ithobal' unfavourably with Tennyson's early poem 'The Hesperides' (1832), which opens with the story of Carthaginian navigator Hanno (who explored the West African coast in the fifth century BC).[165] However, despite its antique trappings, much of the content of the poem was actually a pseudo-archaic reworking of Stanley's great African adventures. The itinerary of the voyage (Egypt, Zanzibar, Kilimanjaro, Victoria Falls, and the source of the Nile) replicates the beaten tracks of the British explorers Livingstone, Speke, Burton, and Stanley. Certain details, such as the trading of cloth and beads and the discovery of the pygmy tribes on the Congo, are taken directly from Stanley's prose narratives. Footnotes in the text map the action onto the modern geography of Africa and identify mythical birds and beasts with recently discovered animals like the okapi and manatee.[166]

Arnold's insertion of modern geographical knowledge into an epic poem divided critics. The *Review of Reviews* approved, asserting that Arnold had 'dextrously availed himself of more recent knowledge to fill in the great unknown [. . .] there is a very close resemblance between the Africa of Ithobal and the Africa of to-day'.[167] However, the poet William Canton, writing in the *Bookman*, was dismayed by these anachronistic gestures: 'The

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[162] Edwin Arnold, *The Light of the World, or the Great Consummation* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891); Stanley, Journal (15 Feb 1891). RMCA, MS 81.
[163] Wright, *Edwin Arnold*, p. 177.
[164] Arnold may have taken the name of his hero from an African King in H. Rider Haggard's novel *Elissa: The Doom of Zimbabwe* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1900).
[165] Tennyson, 'The Hesperides', *Poems and Plays*, pp. 846-47. Arnold's title also echoes 'The Voyage of Maeldune' (1880), in which Tennyson reworked an ancient Celtic saga into a lively exploration ballad (pp. 491-94).
[166] Edwin Arnold, *The Voyage of Ithobal* (London: John Murray, 1901), pp. 78, 114.
[167] 'Some Notable Books of the Month', *Review of Reviews*, 1 November 1901, p. 537.

Africa which Ithobal discovers [. . .] is the Africa of the absolutely up-to-date geographer. The narrative from this point of view is one long anachronism, crowded with uncouth place-names, and notes on natural history written in the light of modern science'.[168] The most blatant example of the intrusion of the modern into the ancient world occurs when Arnold allows Stanley to make a surprise cameo near the end of the poem. Ithobal and his followers are gathered round the campfire listening to the distant roar of a group of lions, when Ithobal's African lover Nesta falls into a reverie and begins to translate the roars of the beasts into a prophecy on the fate of the continent:

> The lions know that down this stream will come
> A white man bringing to the darkness dawn
> As doth the morning star; opening the gates
> Which shut my people in, till good times hap,
> When cattle-bells, and drums, and festal songs
> Of peaceful people, dwelling happily,
> Shall be the desert's voice both day and night:
> The lions know and roar their hate of it.
> Hark! *Ist-a-la-ni*! *Ist-a-la-ni*! cries
> The Marsh Hen : knowing what will come at last;
> And wolves snarl — dreaming of 'the Stone-Breaker.'[169]

The Stone Breaker – as a footnote dutifully informs the reader – was Stanley's Swahili nickname: Bula Matari. Stanley's ancient Phoenician equivalent is a romantic navigator in the Homeric vein but the ominous 'Stone breaker' is – like Tennyson's visitors to Timbuktu – a dispeller of darkness and a rather prosaic moderniser. Although critics and readers baulked, there is something oddly appropriate about the modern explorer invading the space of the epic poem. As Simon Dentith has argued, the epic – much like the exploration narrative – was dialectically constructed by ideas of past and present. For the Victorians the Homeric poems constituted both an instantly recognisable product of antiquity and a battleground for that most modern of intellectual endeavours, historicist criticism: 'In this tradition, the epic becomes the foremost evidence of the historical alterity

[168] William Canton, 'Sir Edwin Arnold's New Poem', *Bookman*, 21(1901), 24.
[169] Arnold, *Voyage of Ithobal*, pp. 160-61.

of the barbaric world; by the same token, it becomes the principal indicator of our own modernity'.[170]

In Henrik Ibsen's satirical verse drama *Peer Gynt* (1867) we are again in the African desert, somewhere in the vicinity of Tennyson's deconstructed city of dreams. But Ibsen's hero, a peripatetic and ambitious amoral schemer, is provoked to very different thoughts on his first glimpse of Timbuktu.

> Steam should drive works in Timbuktu,
> New colonies in Bornu,
> And the explorer should be carried
> Safe in his wagon through the land
> Of Habes to the Upper Nile.

There is no nostalgia here, just the glib assertion that the 'old world's out of date', as the hero constructs a progressivist fantasy in his own image: the imaginary city of Peeropolis, capital of Gyntiana.[171] The parallels with Stanley were acknowledged by Ibsen's most fervent advocate in Britain, George Bernard Shaw. In the *Quintessence of Ibsenism*, Shaw describes Peer Gynt's rise as a 'prosperous man of business in America, highly respectable and ready for any profitable speculation – slave trade, Bible trade, whisky trade anything'. Combining amoral ambition with a resolute self-belief, Ibsen's anti-hero 'persuades himself, like Mr. Stanley, that he is under the special care of God'.[172]

Through the efforts of nineteenth-century explorers and their indigenous collaborators, Central Africa, like Timbuktu, had emerged from the realm of myth into what Tennyson describes as the light of 'keen *Discovery*'. In these samples of exploratory verse, we have the paradox of the nineteenth explorer: inherently romantic in his desire to penetrate the blank spaces; inherently disillusioning in his desire to map them; irresistibly archaic in his insistence on making heroic quests on foot in the age of steam; and ceaselessly modern in his desire to remake the wilderness in the image of the metropole. Stanley was one of the most effective imperial myth-makers: his vocabulary of 'Darkest Africa' and the 'Dark Continent' linger on today; his meeting with Livingstone is the most famous event in the history African exploration; and his carefully fashioned image (khakis,

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[170] Dentith, *Epic and Empire*, p. 1. For more on the relevance of epic poetry to nineteenth-century literature and modernity see Herbert F. Tucker, *Epic: Britain's Heroic Muse, 1790-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1-8.

[171] Henrik Ibsen, *Peer Gynt: A Dramatic Poem*, trans. by R. Farquharson Sharp (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1936), Act 4, Scene 5, pp. 142-43.

[172] George Bernard Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (London: Walter Scott, 1891), pp. 51-52.

pith helmet, pugaree, and well oiled mustachios) has remained the default guise of screen explorers from Abbot and Costello to *Fraggle Rock*.[173]

But Stanley was also an insistent modernizer. He never stinted from his conviction that Africa needed and deserved equivalents of Anglo-Saxon industrial modernity, free trade capitalism, and Christian culture – although when in it came to the role of the indigenous black population in this process he was vague and contradictory. Peer Gynt's narcissistic vision of Gyntiana, with its steam-powered Timbuktu and wagon-loads of explorers on route from the Nile may seem absurd but the century's most influential explorer left behind his own Stanleyville (not to mention Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls). If 'Discovery' had demolished the gleaming spires of Timbuktu, it was with an eye to rebuilding new myths and new monuments, in which the explorer himself became both founder and godhead.

Near the end of Stanley's life, when he purchased the Furze Hill estate in Surrey, he renamed its features after the scenes of his African adventures. A pasture became Mazamboni, a hillock Mount Ruwenzori and a rather inglorious watery ditch the River Congo. In a sublimely self-referential moment, he named a large pond Stanley Pool after the great lake he had rechristened near the mouth of the Congo. And so these Ozymandian monuments to 'modernisation', these Stanleyvilles, these Gyntianas, had their corresponding miniatures even in provincial Surrey. If the tins of Bovril, bars of Pear's soap, and copies of Punch which explorers imported to Africa indicate an attempt to preserve their 'Englishness' from the contamination of the Other, then perhaps Stanley's empire in miniature represents a desire to import the vivid modernism of the frontier back to the English home counties.

In 1922, T.S. Eliot presented one of the most influential images of the modernist metropolis in 'The Waste Land', a poem which – until the intervention of another American in London, Ezra Pound – carried Marlow's description of the death of Kurtz as its epigram.[174] Eliot's poem is expansive and heteroglossic: interpolating Arthurian Romance, Baudelairean visions of modernity, and ancient Sanskrit Vedas. But like Conrad's novella, it has at its centre a rather murky vision of the Thames.

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[173] In the 1949 Abbot and Costello comedy *Africa Screams* (dir. Charles Barton), Lou Costello plays the inept African explorer Stanley Livingston. In Jim Henson's television series *Fraggle Rock* (1983-1987), the pith-helmeted Uncle 'Travelling' Matt lights out from the subterranean Fraggle Rock to explore the realm of the Silly People (the human world).

[174] Pound thought Conrad was not 'weighty enough to stand the citation'. Qtd. in T.S. Eliot, *The Annotated Waste Land with Eliot's Contemporary Prose*, ed. by Lawrence Rainey (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 76.

> Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
> A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many
> I had not thought death had undone so many.
> Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,
> And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.[175]

Eliot's 'Unreal City', like Tennyson's 'Ulysses' takes its inspiration from Dante's 'Inferno' (III, 55-7), but it is also reminiscent of William Booth's dystopian metropole in *Darkest England*. And just as Booth saw an escape from the dehumanising conditions of urban modernity through mass migration to the 'Colony over the Sea', critics have interpreted Eliot's poem as ultimately outward looking, the influence of Frazer's *Golden Bough* and the snatches of Upanishads indicating some form of renewal through the embrace of novelty and otherness: fragments 'shored' against the rising tide of urban alienation.[176] David Trotter sees the trajectory of the poem as a vindication of the 'imperialist' belief 'that the vitality of the race could be renewed by journeys to the frontier'.[177] Likewise, for Rod Edmond, the Waste Land of the poem is not just a 'spiritual or psychological space' but a 'frontier zone traversed by explorers'.[178] Curiously, Eliot's Dantean vision of London Bridge has a close analogue in a passage from *In Darkest Africa*. Marlow conjured up the Congo while floating off Gravesend, but Stanley takes the forest of Ituri as a starting point for an inward voyage.

> As I have already said, the forest is typical of the life of humanity. No single glance can be taken of it without becoming conscious that decay, and death, and life, are at work there as with us. I never could cast a leisurely look at it but I found myself, unconsciously, wondering at some feature which reminded me of some scene in the civilised world. It has suggested a morning when I went to see the human tide flowing into the city over London Bridge between half-past seven and half-past eight, where I saw the pale, overworked, dwarfed, stoop-shouldered, on their way to their dismal struggle for existence. (*IDA* 2: 85)

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[175] T. S. Eliot, 'The Wasteland' (l. 61-5), *The Complete Poems and Plays* (London: Faber, 1969), pp. 60-80 (p. 62).
[176] Ibid. l. 430-33 (p. 430).
[177] David Trotter, 'Modernism and Empire: Reading *The Waste Land*', *Critical Quarterly*, 28 (1986), 143-53 (p. 145).
[178] Rod Edmond, 'Home and Away: Degeneration in Imperialist and Modernist Discourse' in *Modernism and Empire*, ed. by Nigel Rigby and Howard J. Booth, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 39-63 (p. 52). Edmond notes the influence of works by the explorers Ernest Shackleton and Charles Monatgu Doughty on the poem.

Like Conrad, Stanley frequently treats the 'primeval' forest as a visual aid to his lengthy dissertations upon prehistoric fauna and the dawn of 'primitive man', but here the forest stands in for the modern metropolis and its trees for disfigured city-dwellers. Stanley's vision of warring foliage also owes something to Darwin's image of the 'entangled bank', a debt acknowledged in his reference to 'the struggle for existence' and, like Stanley's vision of the frontier, the entangled bank is a site of violent conflict which nonetheless yields 'beautiful variations', the progress of the race, and the engendering of the new.[179] I have suggested that Stanley's texts are the product of a moment in which margin and metropole are, to use Catherine Hall's formulation, mutually constituted as 'modern' through moments of exchange, conflict, and sympathy.[180] As a natural mediator between binaries, and a wilful transgressor of boundaries, it is appropriate that the explorer should see pygmies crossing London Bridge and feel the 'ache of modernism' in the depths of the 'primeval forest'.[181]As Eliot would later assert – in lines which echo the final pledge of Ulysses – the search for the 'source of the longest river' is always a return trip:

> We shall not cease from exploration
> And the end of all our exploring
> Will be to arrive where we started
> And know the place for the first time.[182]

[179] The 'struggle for existence' is the title of Ch. 3 of Origin if Species in which the key concept of natural selection is introduced. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, ed. by Gillian Beer (1859; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) pp. 50, 59.
[180] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), p. 8-13.
[181] The 'ache of modernism' is Thomas Hardy's phrase from *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891; repr. London: Penguin, 1998), p. 124.
[182] 'Little Gidding', Part V. *Complete Poems*, 191-8 (p. 197).

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